THE WANING OF AN INNOVATIVE DUAL-LANGUAGE PROGRAM IN A CULTURALLY AND LINGUISTICALLY DIVERSE RURAL COMMUNITY

BY

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DISSERTATION

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Abstract

Responding to rapid changes in the demographics of their rural community and to the inadequacy of the State-required Transitional Bilingual Education arrangements, a small group of teachers initiated a two-way, dual-language (D-L) immersion program for the elementary grades of their school. When first established, an experienced director was hired to see to the needs of the program and a quasi-partnership with two area professors. They created professional development specific to the needs of the teachers. For a little over fifteen years, immigrants from several countries, with cultures and languages different from longtime residents of the community, came to work in the small town's factory. After approximately ten years of the official dual-language program, this qualitative study was carried out. It looked at how the program had been originally designed and at how it currently functioned; in particular, at how the teachers in the D-L program classrooms and, to a smaller extent, the "general education" classrooms, responded to the school-wide adopted textbook, curriculum and materials, to the State Core Curriculum and to the State mandated testing. Early supportive implementation and a Foreign Language Assistance Program (FLAP) grant funding ran out. At the close of the decade, many of the 20-some program teachers continued multicultural, child-centered, interactive teaching, but with ever-growing warnings and requirements by the State and with little local leadership, the D-L program became difficult to recognize. The report portrays a decade-long enervation of the teacher-initiated, college and grant supported dual-language program as the community grew even more culturally and linguistically diverse and as administrators, teachers and staff members were replaced.

Hugh and Christine Buckberry, Bob and Bernadine Stake,
Paul R. Gilman, and Shameem Rakha

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Chapter 1

Arising From a Need—Westview's Dual-Language Program

There is a huge influx of immigrants settling in the United States, and many of them are non-English-speakers. Not only does this affect the lifestyles and workforces of communities across the states, there is also a profound impact on schools. According to Fix and Passel (2003) in a presentation at the National Association for Bilingual Education, there are three major aspects of recent trends in immigration: the high sustained flow of immigrants to the U.S., the growing geographic dispersal of newer immigrant residency, and the increase in undocumented immigration. Their report showed that during the 1990s more than 14 million immigrants entered the U.S. (based on Census 2000), which exceeds any other decade in the nation's history. They reported that the contextual demographics of immigrants are that one in nine are U.S. residents and that one in four are low-age earners. One in every five children in the states are children of immigrants and one of every four of immigrant children are recognized as coming from families in low-income status. The number of children who speak a language other than English in their homes increased dramatically from 1980 to 2000 (Van Hook & Fix, 2000). The share of children of immigrants among the school-aged population by 2010 was projected to be 25% of the K-12 student population. The changing demographics impacted and continue to impact schools especially in the area of teacher preparedness. Many schools were not prepared to face the challenge of the sudden changes in their student population—changes from a student population that was mostly a mono-social-cultural-language to that of one that was multi-social-cultural-linguistic (Cochran-Smith, 2000; Goodwin, 2010; Neito, 2000). The immigrant movement was usually to large cities where there were established communities of various social, cultural, and

language enclaves, making transition to the immigration easier for the non-English speaking immigrants (Fix & Passel, 2000).

New Diaspora Sites Located in Rural Settings

Many of the newer immigration destinations are rural and agricultural, impacting school districts in these sites. Some of the impacts are similar to urban sites and some are particular to the rural communities where large populations of immigrants settle. The rural, small-town communities are faced with challenges brought into existence by large shifts in demographics, including the impact on commerce, work force, and realty, as well as social, culture and language differences (Fix & Passell, 2003; Paciotto & Delany-Barmann, 2011). In these new sites of immigration, teachers are often faced with student diversity that they are ill equipped to handle. They do not always have the educational background or experiences to understand the needs of their immigrant students (Campano, 2007; Darling-Hammond, 2006a; Goodwin, 2010; Howard & Aleman, 2008).

Teachers Unprepared for Non-English Speaking Students

In 1997, in the small rural town of Perkins, immigrant workers began to arrive and settle in Perkins. Many of these immigrants spoke only Spanish. They were recruited by the large canning facility located at the edge of town. This caused contention between the newcomers and the longtime residents within the community, who were mostly White English-speakers. The sudden influx of non-English speaking residents also caused frustration and concern to the schools of Perkins, where teachers struggled to help their English Language Learners (ELLs) meet the State, District, and school grade level expectations. The teachers' main concern was

that they were not able to communicate with their new immigrant students. The Perkins School District began hiring college graduates who spoke Spanish under the State's alternative emergency certification program and some of the Westview Elementary School teachers volunteered to become involved as Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE) program teachers.

Teachers Initiating a Policy Change

During these early years, many of the Westview Elementary School teachers worried about their students' safety because their students often came to school crying and speaking about the threats that were made against their families. These teachers worried that the isolation from the other students in the school due to the nature of the TBE program, was keeping the two groups of students from building friendships and relationships that would help quell the contention in the community. Several of them began experimenting with dual-language concepts even before knowing what the field of language learning called "dual-language." A turning point came when several of them attended a large bilingual conference. They attended workshops on dual-language programs and brought materials back to Westview to use with their students. One of their principals saw the need for something more responsive to their community's needs than what the TBE program provided, and became involved with the teachers in petitioning the school board for the purpose of implementing a dual-language program at Westview Elementary School.

The initiators originally asked for the entire school to be included in the dual-language program, but the school board turned their requests down. In 2003 the dual-language program was officially implemented as an "enrichment" or a "school within a school" program. It was a 50/50 program where 50% of the students came from English-speaking homes and 50% of the

students came from Spanish-speaking homes. Every student in the program had to be enrolled with parent consent. It was implemented in kindergarten and first grades and would add grade levels each year until the program reached into the high school grades.

In 2006 it had blossomed with funding from a FLAP grant, professional development or inservice education workshops and classes with a partnering college. The teachers involved were given materials for their classrooms, technology for teaching languages in a bilteracy fashion, and received coaching as well as had stipends for the overtime work they did in creating their program's curriculum and assessment tools. They were given common planning times to make collaboration easier and more effective. In addition, there was a program director dedicated only to the affairs of the dual-language program. The current dual-language program at Westview Elementary School has been working on the format and guidelines that the 2006 dual-language program established.

This qualitative case study looked at the complexities associated with the unique two-way bilingual immersion program located in Westview Elementary School, in the rural small town of Perkins. It asked, "What happened to the teacher-initiated, college-supported dual-language program in this culturally diverse community?"

The importance of understanding what is currently happening in the dual-language program is significant to those educators who are currently struggling to meet the needs of their multi-literate student populations. Understanding the support that must be in place in order to initiate and sustain a program such as Westview's dual-language program, as well as the understanding of the complex nature of society, culture, language and educational policies and their affects on "innovative" or non-traditional forms of education is essential, even if several of the aspects are particular to Perkins and are no easily generalized to other situations.

Some Limitations of My Qualitative Case Study

It is important to understand that I observed and interviewed only four of the 17 dual-language teachers at Westview Elementary School and although I saw differences in the perspectives and instructional styles, I would not generalize that all of the teachers in the program taught in the same manner or were entirely different from the teachers who were teaching in the school's general education classrooms. Nor can I say that all teachers in the 12 general education classrooms taught using the same styles and had the same educational perspectives, having only observed in one general education classroom. Qualitative research is not easily generalizable in its nature. It looks at the situational (Stake, 2010). My access to classrooms was limited as in many cases where outsiders attempt to study situations or phenomenon of schools. Instrumental case studies are often more difficult to implement when the study participants have not developed a friendly and trusting relationship with the researcher, nor have any intrinsic or extrinsic motivation to participate. Even though I attempted to include several general education teachers, there was only one who volunteered to participate, and although I did include data I gathered from informal conversations with teachers, administrators and staff members, my study group was small.

The Two Professors and Their Work With the Westview Teachers

I was first introduced to the situation at Westview Elementary in 2009, when the two women professors, Stephanie Pullman and Silvia DePalma, traveled from their university to meet with members of Educational Conversations Across Multiple Perspectives (ECAMP), a group of educators from all levels of teaching, preschool through college and from many U.S. states. The meeting was being held at a school district in the Midwest, where two of the ECAMP members

were administrators. After the introductions to the ECAMP members, the two women took their seats at the center table and began to talk about the work and the study they were doing at Westview, an elementary school in the town of Perkins.

> Stephanie: It may seem unusual. . . . It's happening all over the Midwest, especially in small towns. But, it's impacted the community . . . Perkins is a traditional working class community. It had a large factory where many of the community members worked. That factory closed down and everyone working there was laid off. Then it opened again with a new name and they began hiring people back, but at much lower pay. Obviously, the people who had those jobs did not want to go back to work at the plant doing their same jobs at a lot less pay. The plant began recruiting workers from Mexico. The community changed and the school changed. Silvia and I have been researching how teachers decided to take control and say, "This is the type of school we want for our children." The teachers have created a program that allows Spanish-speakers to cultivate, maintain and continue to learn Spanish, and also cultivate and learn English as well. The native English-speakers have the opportunity to learn Spanish as well as cultivating English. So, it's a dual-language program. It's a really progressive model of bilingual education. It is rare to find this kind of program in rural areas.
>
> Silvia: There are 19 bilingual programs in [our state] and all of them are located in the [largest city] area. And so we thought it was an interesting case of reforming school in a rural context. The resources are very different than in the suburbs or the inner city—an interesting problem for teachers.

The rural school they had been studying is located in the center of Midwest farming and agricultural industries. Had the bilingual program been meeting with resistance from community members? Where were they finding the resources to fund the dual-language program? How did they continue developing their program as administrators and teachers left the school and new educators joined them? What did the program's staff feel was necessary to include in their innovative dual-language program? What were they excluding? In this age of centralized policy-driven programs and focus on State-mandated testing, what choices were being given to teachers in what was being taught and how it was being taught in their dual-language classrooms? What

educational perspectives did the dual-language program and other school staff use in making curricular and instructional decisions?

Teachers make decisions on a daily basis. This is not a new idea in itself, but Silvia and Stephanie pointed out that the teachers were essential in changing a major policy for their English Language Learner (ELL) students. Instead of using a State-mandated transitional bilingual program design, where non-English-speaking students are kept isolated from other students and staff members until they are skilled enough in their English to be placed in regular education classrooms, the teachers and administrators chose to create a two-way (Spanish and English languages), dual-language immersion program for their students in early grade levels, adding a new grade level to the program each year. Understanding the phenomenon of teachers taking action in creating learning situations that are more socially-culturally-linguistically responsive to their students would benefit U.S. schools, where our student populations are becoming more and more diverse in their demographic composition every day. This point will be discussed in more depth in my second chapter.

A Unique School in the Rural Midwest

The two professors, Stephanie and Silvia, had been working with teachers in this rural school helping with the professional development. In 1997, the time they became involved, it was to teach Spanish to the school's teachers for use in their classrooms. As they came to understand the teachers and the district, they developed something similar to a Professional Development School (PDS), partnering with the school and working closely with the director of language acquisition and coaching the teachers involved in creating the dual-language program, delivering courses that would support the biliteracy work being done within the dual-language

program. I was interested in the two professors and the school's teachers and its community members for several reasons: (a) Much of my masters degree work focused on language learning and so had much of my teaching, and so I remain interested in language learning in the context of public schools; (b) Since 1991, my teaching positions have involved ELLs (English Language Learners), and being an ESL classroom or resource teacher; and (c) I am interested in teacher initiated school reform, specifically school reform responsive to all students. My interests lean especially toward those efforts striving to include marginalized populations such as ELLs, special needs and/or "at-risk" students and the use of child-centered and developmental learning and teaching.

Although there would be more to this rural school's overall design than the ESL/bilingual program and dual-language design, it was because of its unique status as a multilingual school in a rural setting and the idea that teachers initiated a policy change that I found most interesting. There are many educators who would benefit from knowing about the school, the teachers, and the others who created this unique space for learning, and who would be encouraged in their own efforts at providing more socially-culturally-linguistically responsible ways for their students to learn. I needed to look for elements embedded in this particular dual-language program that might enable other schools to implement a like program and to also discern those elements that might be too particular to Westview Elementary making this program too difficult or less effective to use in other settings.

Identifying Important Issues and Themes

According to Stake (1995, pp. 15-34), an issue can be the dominant focus in instrumental case studies, and "force[s] attention to [the] complexity and contextuality [of the case]." He

identifies issues to draw attention to problems and concerns of a case believing that the human interactions between case members are usually better exposed to the researcher when issues are present. What differentiates an issue from an information question and/or evaluative question, is the presence of two or more ideas, groups of people, or perspectives involved in the case, that are in opposition to each other. There were issues that surfaced as I began my data collection and throughout the research process within three main themes: (a) Social philosophy, including educational perspectives teachers used as they taught, ideals of assimilation or of acculturation in viewing teaching non-English-speaking students, and aspirations of monoliteracy, biliteracy or multiliteracy within the dual-language program, Westview Elementary School and the community; (b) Support for Teaching/Learning, including use of teacher-centered and child-centered teaching and learning styles, and inservice teacher staff development and mentoring; and (c) State requirements, as in curriculum standards and testing (both state and data-driven school-based testing). Other issues will be important to understanding the complexity of Westview Elementary School, such as the demographics of the community, authoritative administration where there once was greater teacher initiative within the dual-language program, the exclusion of African immigrant students from the two-way, dual-language program, and the teacher attrition and teacher recruiting in Perkins School District. These themes and issues will be explained further in Chapter 2 and discussed in Chapter 6, as well as guiding the analysis of my data in Chapters 4 and 5.

Social philosophy. Sociocultural approaches to language and literacy as discussed in Sarah Beck and Leslie Nabors Oláh's 2001 book, *Perspectives on Language and Literacy: Beyond Here and Now*, explain that sociocultural approaches to language and literacy are concerned with their use "in naturalistic contexts, rather than as tested in clinical or laboratory

settings." In the field of language study, this sociocultural perspective "implies the assumption that individuals' language and literacy abilities are best studied in naturalistic settings that allow the researcher to document and analyze the role of a social or cultural context in promoting the development of individuals' linguistic abilities." Furthering this definition, Barry McLaughlin and Beverly McLeod (1996), in their final report of the National Center for Research on Cultural Diversity and Second Language Learning, emphasized the individual's learning in a social context being influenced by family, peer group and community. They stated, "from a sociocultural perspective, schooling is a socially constructed process where meaning is negotiated through interaction." The implication was that an individual's social and cultural groups greatly influence the individual's language development (as well as other learning, such as math, science and social studies) and teachers should understand the importance of the social and cultural contexts of their own classrooms, their schools and the community from which their students originate.

In line with the sociocultural perspective, we could look at the two professors' design of a professional development framework for teaching courses to the teachers at Westview Elementary School as one that includes their university, the Westview Elementary School and the community in which Westview is located. A similar framework is outlined in Peter C. Murrell, Jr.'s book, *The Community Teacher: A New Framework for Effective Urban Teaching* (2001). Murrell points out that "educational literature has long acknowledged the significance of culturally relevant pedagogy, but there has not yet been a significant impact of this concept on the preparation of teachers nationwide." He was commenting on the more traditional agenda used by most colleges of education for their teacher education programs that sometimes excludes the communities where the preservice and student teaching field experiences take place. The

framework Murrell offers is "a system of practice requiring conjoint collaboration of universities, communities and schools." This type of collaborative effort goes beyond what some have done in creating Professional Development Schools (PDSs). Including the community in the design of the collaborative can be a more socioculturally responsive way of implementing both preservice and inservice teacher education, having a more "grass roots" connection and offering courses relevant to the school staff and community. It was important to look at what kind of collaboration the two professors and Westview Elementary created.

Socially-culturally-linguistically responsive. In ESL/bilingual teaching and learning, connecting the curriculum content to what students already know and understand becomes even more critical than when working with English as First Language (EFL) students. In Belgarde, Mitchell and Arquero's 2002 article, "What do we have to do to create culturally responsive programs? The Challenge of Transforming American Indian Teacher Education," the authors define culturally responsive education as "curriculum and instruction that generally validate the cultures and languages of students and allows them to become co-constructors of knowledge in the school setting." The teachers then would infuse their lessons "with connections to students' cultural and linguistic backgrounds within family and community contexts." The authors argue that doing so leads to "student empowerment, collaborative goal setting, and meaningful learning." So, the choice of curriculum materials for meeting the federal and state curriculum guidelines should also be subject matter relevant to the student's background knowledge—both culturally and socially. For instance, a student who has never experienced a canoe ride on a lake or river, might have no idea what the word, "canoe," is until having had some experience with understanding what that object is and how it is used. A student who has had the experience of canoeing is more likely to know what the word is; however, even students with the

understanding of the canoe might not know what the word is on a page if the child is from a lean literature environment.

In Martin-Beltran's 2010 study, "The Two-Way Language Bridge: Co-Constructing Bilingual Language Learning Opportunities," her findings suggested that "language learning affordances could be fostered in linguistically diverse classrooms by allowing interplay between languages and by creating activities that encourage learners to co-construct text." In other words, learners can teach each other language by interacting in their heritage language and using their various proficiency levels in their second languages—as in peer teaching activities and in everyday dialogue. So, while observing in classrooms, I looked for these kinds of lessons and experiences offered to Westview students. I also looked for socio-culturally-linguistically responsive curriculum materials while analyzing the textbooks and other resources.

Staff development, mentoring, child-centered teaching and learning. The two professors involved in Westview Elementary School's professional development at the time of the D-L program initiation, DePalma and Pullman, as well as the teachers there, were important to seeing the case in its entirety. These professors' support of and influence on the teachers throughout the process of the teachers' early reformation of their language program, certainly helped develop the program toward its present perspective. The two professors used curriculum centered on sociocultural approaches in language and literacy, as well as relevant literature and activities involving socio-culturally-linguistically responsive learning and teaching in the courses they taught at the school site.

The two professors, as is the case with many ESL/Bilingual educators, encouraged many of the nine features listed in the Cloud, Genessee, and Hamayan text published in 2000, that used by the dual-language teachers during inservice teacher education activities, *Dual Language*

Instruction: A Handbook for Enrichment Education. It lists developmentally appropriate teaching and learning as well as child-centered learning activities as essential to dual-language program implementation. In *Engaging Children's Minds: The Project Approach* (Katz & Chard, 2000), the authors refer to the project approach as an "indepth study of a particular topic" undertaken in a variety of ways, whole-class, sub-groups and individual students. It is research coming from the students and involving children "seeking answers to their own questions they have formulated by themselves" (p. 2). The ways dual-language is promoted by many ESL/Bilingual educators includes holistic teaching and learning activities (Genesee, 2001), connecting new knowledge to knowledge students bring with them to the school environment and building relationships with parents and other community members. I will discuss these ideas further in Chapter 2.

Including FLAP grant and initial program documents. The grant that funded much of the initial language program was a source for viewing the evolution of the program as well as finding the guidelines of the current program. The review of various grant and program documents was crucial in understanding the teacher involvement in developing the dual-language program, the structures in place for supporting the program during its first years, and the continuing evolution of the program. Speaking to the former principal and the former program director of the D-L program also helped in developing a clearer picture of what the program looked like in its first phase in comparison to what is now happening to and within the program.

Some Initial Questions

My initial understanding of the Westview Elementary teachers was that in order to help their students academically, they had decided themselves to learn Spanish. I understood from my initial inquiry that the teachers were a mixture of veteran and novice teachers from various educational backgrounds. Were all the teachers at the school learning to speak Spanish? Where in their quest to learn Spanish was the decision made to create a two-way dual-language immersion program? To create a two-way dual-language immersion school in an urban setting where there is usually a higher percentage of non-English speakers and more diverse social-cultural populations, is a formidable task, but to create such a program in a mostly White, almost entirely English-speaking community such as Perkins, was particularly difficult given the ever challenging conservative perspectives that one encounters in a community like Perkins. That this situation was initiated by a group of teachers showed unusual fortitude and energy on the part of those teachers. I wanted to know if any of the teachers had been involved in teaching ESL students before they began their movement to create a two-way dual-language immersion program. Were all of the teachers at the school engaged in the philosophy of a dual-language immersion program, or were there some who approached this issue with a more academic tradition (Liston & Zeichner, 1991) or with the current standardization, assimilative, and or monoliteracy viewpoints? Besides the decision to learn to speak Spanish, what other ways had the teachers found to bridge various social-cultural understandings? What kind of support did the dual-language teachers currently have for their efforts? What types of support came from the school district and the school's community members? What did the teachers do in the way of supporting each other in their daily teaching efforts?

The teachers had contacted the two women professors for help with learning Spanish and to get advice in establishing a dual-language program. For how long had the two professors been involved in the professional development of the teachers? Did they visit the school for the purpose of professional development for the teachers and administrators? What were the professors' learning theories and teaching philosophies and what role, if any, did these perspectives play in developing the teachers' perspectives? What agreements, either contractually or verbally, did the school and school district have with the college and the professors?

Using a Qualitative Case Study to Investigate Westview's Dual-Language Program

I undertook an instrumental case study of Westview Elementary School (Stake, 1995, p. 3). The choice of a qualitative case study arose from my interest in understanding the program as a whole. My need for understanding this school came from my curiosity of teacher-initiated school reform, social justice perspectives in education, particularly those views connected with sociocultural and language issues, and my continuing interest in developmentally appropriate teaching and learning, learner-directed inquiry-based learning and teaching such as the curriculum and instructional strategies suggested for ESL students by many in the field of ESL research. In implementing an instrumental case study I observed several teachers at Westview Elementary during their student-contact times—those times where the teachers were providing large group, small group, or individual lessons to their students.

I observed the general activities taking place in the school as a whole, examining the physical site and how the students reacted to it or acted in it. I noted what things were posted on the walls, and noted things in the environment that might be impacting the students. I explored

the resources available to the students, parents, teachers and other community members, found in the school. Important too, were observations of the surrounding community where the school existed, looking at what resources the school had available to them, what the school district had provided in the way of resources and what the parents provided for the school and what the school provided to these groups. These observations were a large part of the case study.

Another important part of this case study were the interviews of the study participants, including the teachers, the two professors mentioned earlier, several of the students' parents, a few school district administrators, and a few of the surrounding community members. The transcripts from these interviews were critically analyzed using methods suggested by Stake (1995, 2000), Clandinin and Connelly (2000), and Huberman and Miles (1998). The narratives created from these interviews were the second important part of the study in understanding the various participants' perspectives of the school as well as giving the researcher and the audience a wider perspective of what was happening in the school and its community (Bruner, 1991, 2004; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

I reviewed policies, grants, curriculum materials and other pertinent documents to help in the understanding of what was happening at Westside Elementary School. In my initial contact with the two professors, they mentioned a grant that the Director of Language Acquisition helped to write and subsequently received, which made creation of the dual-language program creation possible. This was vital for viewing initial and evolving concepts of the school. Because this program was modeled on what ESL literature calls a "two-way immersion" program, it was necessary to look at the state and district ESL/Bilngual policies to determine how the school fit into the whole picture of ELL learning and teaching in accordance with current policies.

In the following chapter, "Educational and Second Language Learning Perspectives, Supporting Teachers, and State Requirements," I review literature pertinent to the investigation of the current dual-language program including educational perspectives, socio-cultural language learning, staff development and mentoring of inservice teachers, expanding teacher capacity, access to equitable education by marginalized members of our society and the requirements placed on schools, teachers, students and parents due to NCLB and high-stakes testing.

In Chapter 3, "Using Qualitative Case Study to Investigate Westview Elementary School's Dual-Language Program," I explain the methods I used in implementing my study at Westview Elementary School. In Chapter 4, "Experiencing the Westview Elementary Dual-Language Program and Gaining Access," and Chapter 5, "Westview Educators at Work," I show the findings—pertinent data of my study. In Chapter 6, "Issues of Perspective, Support for Teachers and State Requirements," I discuss the issues and themes I identified throughout the study. I provide conclusions of my study in Chapter 7, "On-going Enervation of the Westview Dual-Language Program."

Chapter 2

Educational and Second Language Learning Perspectives, Supporting Teachers, and State Requirements

As mentioned in Chapter 1, our nation currently faces a high enrollment of non-English-speaking immigrant students in schools across the country (Contreas, 2002; Fix & Passel, 2003). In past years, urban schools were most affected by immigration, but there are now many non-urban diaspora sites throughout the country (Paciotto & Delaney-Barmann, 2011; Suro & Passel, 2003). Many well-known educational researchers give this situation prominent status in their work, saying that the nation's inservice and preservice teachers are not prepared for the social, cultural and linguistic diversity of our schools (Cochran-Smith, 2000, 2001; Darling-Hammond, 2006a; Feiman-Nemser, 2001; Goodwin, 2010; Nieto, 2006).

State policies require transitional bilingual programs when student enrollment of second-language/English language learners exceeds certain limits, for example, in several states the number is 20 (State Board of Education websites, 2013). Some schools implement innovative programs to address social-cultural-linguistic diversity in their classrooms. The solutions created or chosen by educators are often based in the ways those educators view their purposes (Alanís & Rodríguez, 2008; Christian, 1994; Montague, 1997; Paciotto & Delaney-Barmann, 2011). It makes it necessary to understand the different viewpoints, some of which will be at odds with the different innovative educational programs.

The dual-language program at Westview Elementary School began with certain ideals and concepts. This chapter will be a review of literature from the field of ESL/Bilingual language learning.

Dominant Themes

I introduced three main themes and several contextual issues in Chapter 1. These themes and issues developed as the study progressed and help to focus my study and organize my dissertation. I have used the three themes to organize this literature review: (a) social philosophy of teachers, administrators, and other school personnel, including the educational and language learning, ESL and Bilingual perspectives; (b) support for teaching and learning, including use of teacher-centered and child-centered instructional styles and inservice education and mentoring of teachers; and (c) state requirements, as in core curriculum standards, state tests, and implications of not meeting Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) and national No Child Left Behind (NCLB) policies.

The literature included here in each section sometimes overlaps other sections. Although there is an attempt at linearity, the nature of education is social and extremely complex. Topics intertwine in messy and rhizomorphic ways. The nature of social philosophy is such that ideas and concepts are obtained through communicating or interacting with others. Philosophy is not stagnate and immobile. It is ever evolving. It is at times not easy to label, with one category having many of the same elements as another, but important for understanding the complexities of social interaction.

Social Philosophy

Educational philosophy. As educators and researchers, we ask a teacher what philosophy of education guides their practice. We watch a teacher as he or she works with students to observe what it is that she or he does during various times of the day. We see the activities, situations, curriculum, etc. on a daily basis. The daily decisions about their schools,

classrooms and students—the choices they make in curriculum and the materials they use, the strategies they use as they go about their various professional duties—usually are not only based on what has been required by their school, district, state or country, but are also based on their personal educational background, knowledge, beliefs, and/or understandings. Jerome Bruner (1991, 2004), in his descriptions of "narrative" and storytelling, describes the importance of understanding how we construct our realities. Our personal experiences with life, our communications with other humans, the "knowledge" we attain from reading, writing, and speaking with others, are all part of the realties we create. He argued:

> Eventually the culturally shaped cognitive and linguistic processes that guide the self-telling of life narratives achieve the power to structure perceptual experience, to organize memory, to segment and purpose-build the very "events" of a life. In the end, we become the autobiographical narratives by which we "tell about" our lives. And given the cultural shapings to which I referred, we also become variants of the culture's canonical forms. (pp. 694-695)

It is a good idea for a researcher studying educators to review the literature of teacher education in order to understand the multiple perspectives and "realities," and "constructs" to be encountered in classroom settings and to be heard in their interview sessions.

It is also good to review the history of the major ideas of education. Bruner (2004) explains that many of the thoughts, ideas, and concepts found in a person's reality and therefore their interpretations of what they do or have done, "spring from historical circumstances as these have been incorporated in the culture and language of a people." This is especially important in understanding the evolution of terms, ideas, and concepts that appear in interviews, in conversations between educators, and in arguments or issues between educators. Some of the terms educators use to communicate among themselves and with others have overlapping or different meanings from one field of study or culture to another, from one time period to another,

or from one place to another. Some terms are heavily associated with particular agendas or traditions.

The first part of this literature review looks at the social philosophies underlying education, language, and ESL/bilingual education, and gives a broad view of teacher education foundations. This first section, "Social Philosophy—Educational Perspectives" will include, among others, writings of Kliebard (1975, 1995), Liston and Zeichner (1991), and Cochran-Smith and Fries (2008). It will include Zeichner's (2003) study of three current "agendas" in teacher education as well as provide suggestions in what might be needed in teacher education programs from those in the field.

This part will also look at how the "social justice agenda" may be associated with what is occurring at Westview Elementary in its dual-language program. Issues such as beliefs about teaching that teacher candidates bring to their teacher education programs, racial and cultural identity, and preparing teacher candidates to be socio-culturally responsive teachers will be discussed.

Social philosophies, social philosophers, and educators whose practice manifest social philosophy are not precisely fixed by labels, such as "professional" or "reconstructionist." The labels provide simple identification obscuring variations and inconsistencies. Each writer and practitioner would vary in true categorization with the situation. A teacher regularly consistent in pursuing a social justice agenda may at times speak strongly in defense of the profession. Even the most thoughtful and respected writers respond to the changing conditions of society and their local communities, and thus take an advocacy, even adversarial, stand. The labels do not represent impersonally studied categories, but serve as markers or approximates to facilitate our discussion of the literature.

Timeline framework for viewing educational philosophy.

> The history of research on teacher education was not a steady march over time in which one perspective supplanted another. Rather, as noted earlier, the developing of research on teacher education involved dynamic relationship among alternative viewpoints and approaches, with some being in the foreground and others more in the background or on the margins. (Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2008, p. 1068)

In their paper, "Research on Teacher Education: Changing Times, Changing Paradigms," Cochran-Smith and Fries (2008) give us a time line, in which to view teacher education research from the 1920s through the early 2000s. The authors outline four periods of time in the United States, each overlapping the other and having what they refer to as a "problem." They define the "problem" as "the challenge every nation faces in providing teachers for its children." They explain how teacher education has been formulated over time as a research problem. Their period categories are, "Studying Teacher Education: as a Curriculum Problem During the 1920s through the 1950s," "as a Training Problem from the Late 1950s to the Early 1980s," "as a Learning Problem from the early 1980s into the Early 2000s," and "as a Policy Problem from the Mid-1990s and Continuing into the Present."

In each period, the researchers use five themes: (a) political, professional and policy contexts; (b) constructing teacher education, respectively, as a (curriculum, training, learning, and policy) problem; (c) studying teacher education, respectively, as a (curriculum, training, learning, and policy) problem; (d) two examples of teacher education, respectively, as a (curriculum, training, learning, and policy) problem; and (e) the value of studying teacher education, respectively, as a (curriculum, training, learning, and policy) problem. Using these five themes, the authors were able to highlight various changes in society and in educational institutions, demonstrating how the shifts in focus influenced change or reform in teacher education.

Although the traditions and agendas discussed by Kliebard (1995), Liston and Zeichner (1991) existed in the same time periods, using the framework created by Cochran-Smith and Fries enables us to see when each of these approaches had greater influence. For instance, in the 1920s through the 1950s, when the curriculum was the focal point in educational research, the "social efficiency" advocates, inspired by industrialization, were creating ways to insert "scientifically gathered" data on traits of an excellent teacher into the teacher education curriculum. The "developmentalists" and "progressivists" were looking at how instruction could be more child-centered and how a curriculum could be chosen not only by educators but by the students. The "academic tradition" people were arguing that certain "knowledge" was to be included as content in the curriculum and only teacher candidates who knew these areas of curriculum well should be allowed to be teachers. The social "reconstructionists" looked at curriculum and instruction as a way to change society to be more balanced between the wealthy and the poor. All of these perspectives existed in the same time period, contending for dominance.

Kliebard (1995) said that the 1920s and 1930s were a "heyday" for "social meliorists." When President F. D. Roosevelt was in office, his Secretary of Labor was a woman, Frances Perkins, who from 1933 to 1945, among other things, helped create child labor laws, push through Fair Labor Act legislation, establish social security for the elderly and welfare for the poorest citizens (Downey, 2010). There were many civil rights issues being addressed during this era, and social justice was addressed in the curriculum, too. During this same time period, industrialization was overtaking agriculture here in the United States as the main economy. The "social efficiency" people advised businesses as to what they would need in prospective employees. In each time period, the various groups kept their ideals, but shifted foci in that

period. Kliebard's 1975 paper, "The Rise of Scientific Curriculum Making and Its Aftermath," and his book (1995), *The Struggle for American Curriculum: 1893-1958*, explain how these traditions (and the agendas, as Zeichner, 2003, later refers to the approaches stemming from those traditions) all existed at the same time and influenced each other. Liston and Zeichner in their 1991 book, *Teacher Education and the Social Conditions of Schooling,* drew upon Kliebard's 1985 analysis of the various interest groups battling over priorities in the United States.

Social Philosophy—Educational Perspectives

Liston and Zeichner (1991) begin their book, *Teacher Education and the Social Conditions of Schooling*, with a quote from philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre defining their use of the word, "tradition." MacIntyre (1988, pp. 12-13) stated:

> A tradition is an argument extended through time in which certain fundamental agreements are defined and redefined in terms of two kinds of conflict: those with critics and enemies external to the tradition who reject all or at least key parts of those fundamental agreements, and those internal, interpretive debates through which the meaning and rationale of the fundamental agreements come to be expressed and by whose progress a tradition is constituted.

While some call the categories of teacher education reform: "models," "paradigms," "strategies," "approaches" and "perspectives," Liston and Zeichner (1991), keeping MacIntyre's definition, refer to them as "traditions." The authors draw upon not only Kliebard's analysis, but from others, such as Bruce Joyce (1975), Zeichner (1983), David Kirk (1986) and Sharon Feiman-Nemser (1990), to create the conceptual orientations they present in their book. The four traditions are the "academic," the "social efficiency," the "developmentalist" and the "social reconstructionist."

The academic tradition. This tradition is based on Abraham Flexner's 1930 reform of medical education, with the belief that "a sound liberal arts education complemented by an apprenticeship in a school was the most sensible way to prepare teachers for their work." Academic discipline content is important to this tradition, and educational pedagogy coursework not a good use of time and effort. Those following this tradition say that teachers can learn their trade by becoming experts in particular curriculum content areas and then teaching that content to students in a school setting, learning their practical skills as an apprentice in any field might learn their trade. In 1953, Arthur, Bestor, an ally of Flexner, in support of the academic tradition, stated:

> A new curriculum for the education of teachers, based firmly upon the liberal arts and sciences, rather than upon the mere vocational skills of pedagogy willmore to restore the repute of the public schools than any other step that can be taken. (Bestor, 1953, p. 147 as cited in Liston & Zeichner, 1991, p. 10)

Today, Frederick Hess and those following the "deregulatory" agenda (Zeichner, 2003) can be categorized as belonging to the academic tradition.

The social efficiency tradition. This tradition rose from studies identifying the "best" traits of a profession were listed by those who worked in that profession. The traits were categorized and made lists from which people could measure and compare others as to competence. Liston and Zeichner (1991) note that this tradition arose partly from the aspiration of educators to be considered "legitimate" scholars. It was technically elegant and was widely referenced by schools, education departments and colleges. Even before the1920s there was support for the idea to "scientifically" break down and quantitatively analyze the act of teaching.

Liston and Zeichner refer to Kliebard's 1975 paper, "The Rise of Scientific Curriculum Making and Its Aftermath," where Kliebard discussed Boyd Bode's criticism of the early 20th Century work of Franklin Bobbitt and A.A. Charters, who based their teacher education

curriculum on "scientific management techniques," also known as "functional efficiency," and "activity/job analysis." It became popular during the 1920s. Kliebard unsympathetically describes Charters (1921, 1925) work in which problems of the curriculum were approached from the perspective of functional efficiency:

> As with other occupations, one simply had to analyze the particular activities that defined the role and then place these in relationship to the ideals that would control these activities. The training involved in performing the activities well would then become the curriculum. (Kliebard, 1975, p. 28)

In particular Kliebard notes the Commonwealth Teacher Training Study completed in 1929 by Charters and Waples. In this early and prominent study funded by the Commonwealth Fund, duties and traits of teachers provided a platform for determining what should be taught in teacher education. Surveys to 1200 or so teachers in 42 states gave Charters and Waples data to create a list of 1,001 teacher activities and 83 teacher traits to help in designing teacher education programs. Kliebard (1975) critiqued this approach and the continued importance of practices associated with this tradition saying:

> One of the most persistent and puzzling questions in this, the aftermath of the scientific curriculum-making movement, is why we retain, even revere, the techniques on which these works are based. . . . While there seems to be some caution in stating the characteristics and behaviors with the same degree of conviction as Bobbitt and Charters did, an abiding faith in the efficacy of the approach remains. The persistence of this faith in the face of a record of over a half-century of failure is a mystery that even Bode could not fathom. (pp. 35-36)

It was Bobbitt, Kliebard states, who made the concepts and metaphors which gave, and continue to give, the area of teacher education its "scientific base" and technical terminology, evolving into what is known today as Competency/Performance Based Teacher Education and found in some current "professionalization and deregulatory agendas" and educational policies.[1]

[1] Kliebard was not alone in connecting the social efficiency tradition with professionalization; other scholars have as well (Zeichner, 2003; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Lagemann, 2000).

In the 1960s and 1970s, during the period that Cochran-Smith and Fries say the "problem" in education was "training," under the prevalent influence of behavioral psychology, the social efficiency tradition evolved C/PBTE to what it has become today (Lagemann, 2000; Liston & Zeichner, 1991; Kliebard, 1985). In 1984, David Berliner, according to Liston and Zeichner, gave the social efficiency tradition a new title, "research-based," saying:

> We have only recently developed a solid body of knowledge and a fresh set of conceptions about teaching on which to base teacher education. For the first time, teacher education has a scientific foundation. (Berliner, 1984, p.94, as cited in Liston & Zeichner, 1991, p. 18)

That statement of Berliner disregards the social efficiency tradition's long-standing and most important tenet, that teaching and curriculum should always be founded in "scientific" research. There is evidence that some form of research, usually measurable but sometimes of a reflective nature, has been the basis for educational practices, philosophy and policies from the beginning of teacher education in the United States. Berliner's chapter, not unlike much of the research reporting today, endorses a scientifically research-based (SBR) agenda. He speaks of Dewey's experimentation giving it legitimacy and, "scientific foundation" and furthers the argument of the Campbellian experimentalist viewpoint as to what constitutes research.

According to Kliebard (1975), Bobbitt and other people from the social efficiency tradition held that the purpose in creating curricula was to prepare students to become productive adults in the American society. Kliebard noted progressive educator and American pragmatist, Boyd Bode's 1927 criticism of this particular focus. Bode held that preparing anyone for "an undeterminable future" was impossible, saying, "curriculum making, in other words, is a form of Utopian thinking, not of crystal-ball gazing." There is no real way to predict what students will need for their future lives—we cannot "see" the future as to what students will "need" to have in the way of skills or knowledge.

The developmentalist tradition. Having its roots in the child study movement begun by psychologist G. Stanley Hall, the developmentalist tradition held that there is a natural order of the growth and development of all learners and the aspects of development in each stage should determine what should be taught. The "progressive"[2] tradition, in which creativity and imagination were crucial elements, was heavily influenced by the developmentalist tradition (Kliebard, 1995). In the early 1930s, Lucy Sprague-Mitchell, founder of the Bank Street College of Education, and in the late 1920s, Mary Margaret Stroh, were two of the people associated with the earlier part of the developmentalist movement. They were critical of teacher education programs that treated prospective teachers as mechanical beings, with no creativity or imagination and seemingly, no soul, just a lot of learned behaviors that designated them as teachers using the correct skills but lacking, as Stroh said, "a flaming purpose" (Kliebard, 1975, 1996).

Three metaphors for the developmentalist tradition. Liston and Zeichner (1991) named three metaphors associated with the developmentalist and progressive positions: (a) Teacher as naturalist, (b) Teacher as artist, and (c) Teacher as researcher.

The teacher as naturalist. The teacher as a naturalist stressed the skills of the teacher in observing students and the creation of a classroom environment and practice grounded in the development of the students and their learning interests. The observations were both informal and formal in nature, some resembling reflective narratives found in self-study, ethnography and action research. The High Scope Program[3] practiced in classrooms across the U.S.A., has

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[2] The progressive education movement is often associated with the developmentalist tradition, because of the adoption of developmentalist concepts by many progressivists. There should, however, be a distinction made between these traditions, even with their undeniable link to each other.

[3] High Scope is an organization located in Ypsilanti, Michigan, that has been instrumental in developing and distributing research, curriculum and instructional materials and active in teacher training of their child centered inquiry-based format, Their website is http://www.highscope.org/

naturalistic observation as a key component. Teachers may carry note pads with them as they move through the classroom observing the activities and the conversations of their students. This program has its teachers write daily narrative reports on students (http://www.highscope.org/; Gilman, 2011). In *Dewey's Laboratory School: Lessons for Today,* a book discussing Dewey's well-known laboratory school[4] in Chicago, Tanner (1997), claims that teachers were required to write up daily observations of students and to give monthly reports. Keeping the "experimental" environment, where teachers were given the freedom to use and develop instructional or curricular ideas, skills and concepts, other than what might be practiced by teachers of that time, was crucial to maintaining the operation of the laboratory school. The recording of what was happening in the classrooms as the teachers "experimented" with their philosophies, curriculum and instruction, made teacher reflection an imperative.

The teacher as artist. The "teacher as artist" metaphor has two dimensions, that of the teacher having a deep understanding of the psychology of child development and the ability to excite children in their learning experiences while also being aware of their own learning and curiosity as they were teaching. In progressive and laboratory schools, this meant that the teachers would create learning situations that were either real situations, such as creating a garden and growing vegetables to learning about life cycles, geography, as well as moral aspects such as responsibility, collaboration, and fulfilling a moral life purpose (Dewey, 1910; Tanner, 1997). Teachers would cater the experiences to each child's particular stage of development. The teacher as artist outlook called for teachers to be highly skilled in balancing their knowledge of content, teaching skills, and understandings to the developmental stages of their students. Some

[4] Although Dewey's approach in his laboratory school was developmental, it was more teacher-directed and had an academic-styled learning outcome design. Although holding developmental beliefs, Dewey did not encourage the use of "exploratory" activity, where students choose the curriculum and decide the course of their studies. Dewey did not endorse an "exploratory" curriculum and instructional approach perhaps because the learning outcomes were unpredictable.

saw this as similar to an artist balancing artistic skills to be a valued water colorist, sculptor or muralist.

The teacher as researcher. The "teacher as researcher" fostered an "experimental" attitude toward the practice of teaching with child study as the basis of a teacher's inquiries used in a sustained and meaningful way. This tied it to the first metaphor of the teacher as naturalist. Both the developmentalist and progressive traditions held that careful observations, "naturalistic" research, were how teachers should focus their efforts to create, develop and use curricular and instructional designs. The keeping of close records of what occurred in the classrooms during these "experiments" was to be rigorous, but was not expected to be as measurable and repeatable as the other groups might define "experimental." Although developmental ideas still exist in contemporary curriculum and instruction, it is not a popular position in the policy and standards-driven school systems of today (Apple, 2001; Darling-Hammond, 2006).

The social reconstructionist tradition. Both schooling and teacher education have crucial roles in the social reconstructionist tradition, where building a just society for all people living within the society is the goal. Kliebard (1995) discusses the social meliorism of the 1920s as the beginning of the social reconstructivist tradition. He tells of John Dewey and other intellectuals of the time becoming "increasingly vocal about what they perceived as a system riddled by social injustice." Liston and Zeichner's (1991) explanation of this tradition expresses how the economic depression and resulting social unrest fueled a movement toward equality and justice in and through education. The members of this tradition stressed the need for schools to take the lead in the planning of intelligent reconstruction of the United States' society, leading to a fair and equitable distribution of wealth. Some noted supporters of this educational tradition

were: John Dewey, Harry Brown, George Counts, William Heard Kilpatrick, Boyd Bode, and Jane Adams.[5]

Many of the same people involved in this tradition were aligned with the progressive and developmental traditions, which might account for the inclusion of developmentalist and progressive ideas in the reconstructivist tradition, as well as the inclusion of reconstructivist ideas in the developmentalist and progressivist traditions. Although not immediately apparent in many of today's schools, developmentalist and progressivist traditions can be found in "responsive" curriculum and instruction designs in social justice agenda of today. The terms, "responsive" and "socially-culturally responsive" are especially prevalent in the curriculum and instructional methodology of English Language Learners (ELL), English Speakers of other Languages (ESL), urban education and now, in rural education sites with new immigrant populations. The literature is enriched by many articles and books centering on "diversity" of student and community populations (Adger, Wolfram, & Christian, 2007; Christensen, 2002; Cooper, 2007; Fine, 2002; Scollon & Scollon, 2002).

Zeichner's three current teacher education agendas. Kenneth Zeichner (2003), one of the leading researchers in teacher education and educational foundations, uses three categories to discuss the most dominant current agendas in teacher education programs: the "professionalization," the "deregulatory" and the "social justice" agendas.

The professionalization agenda. Although different from those programs in the 1920s as to what "traits" are important in defining high quality teaching, this "agenda" retains the "science-based" justification of "best practices" and performance-based assessment as the foundation of the social efficiency movement (Kliebard, 1975, 1995; Liston & Zeichner, 1991;

[5] 1931 Nobel Peace Prize winner, Jane Addams, was a noted leader of the Progressive Era, and highly influential in the progressive education movement. She was also considered a member of the American pragmatists school of philosophy.

Zeichner, 2003). The competencies and performances that define teaching quality are used to develop teacher education in college settings for pre- and in-service teachers, as well as in school site staff development and the assessments of educators. Although influenced by other traditions, such as the academic tradition, where becoming knowledgeable of curriculum content was emphasized, this movement was heavily influenced by behavioral science, emphasizing measurement of achievement, skills, and knowledge (Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2008; Kliebard, 1995; Liston & Zeichner, 1991).

The people supporting this "agenda" call for adoption of teacher standards linked to national K-12 student learning standards. They would end emergency teaching certification and alternative routes that fail to adequately prepare prospective teachers for teaching in the diverse school environments of today, with some connection to the "social justice agenda." They support the establishment of professional standards boards in every state, want external examinations of teacher's content knowledge, support extending teacher education programs to five years from the traditional four, advocate mandatory national accreditation for all teacher education programs, and urge greater university-wide support and funding for teacher education programs. They encourage better teacher induction and mentoring programs in schools and want to use the National Board certification for teachers as a benchmark for all teacher certification. The Holmes Group and Partnership, the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, INTASC and NCATE have been key supporters of this agenda (Darling-Hammond, 2006; NCATE, 2010; Zeichner, 2003).

The 2010 report of the Blue Ribbon Panel on Clinical Preparation and Partnerships for Improved Learning, co-chaired by Nancy Zimpher and Dwight Jones, and commissioned by the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE), is an example of the

"professionalization" agenda. It has been given serious standing in education communities. The report asks for continuance of measurable accountability and assessments and standardization, giving little credence to the particular situations of many local communities (Apple, 2001; Darling-Hammond, 2010). The report outlines a "clinical model"[6] with teacher candidates rigorously chosen from the highest levels of academic achievement. The teacher education site is to be a school where the teacher candidates learn their teaching skills from master teachers in on-the-job-training situations. And education colleges are to negotiate with school districts to allow education courses to be taught by their teacher educators on site.

The selection process of teacher candidates is to take into consideration not only test scores but key attributes that lead to effective teachers (Blue Ribbon Report, NCATE 2010). The panel asked that consideration be given to teacher candidates who would fill areas of need (e.g., mathematics and sciences in remote schools).

The report asked the Federal Government to develop opportunities for candidates to work in hard-to-staff schools through a "matching" program similar to those of teaching hospitals. The panel outlined five needs to be met in teacher education: (a) more rigorous accountability, (b) strengthened candidate selection and placement, (c) revamped curricula, incentive, and staffing, (d) support of college/school district partnerships, and (e) expanding the knowledge base to identify "what works" and supports continuous improvement. Objectivity was to be sought through the norms of standardization and the accountability systems built on the foundations of standards-based education (Apple, 2001; Darling-Hammond, 2010; Goodwin, 2010). Although some school districts have managed to infuse "social-culturally responsive" meanings into the

[6] This idea of this "clinical model" appears similar to the ideas presented by Flexner and others in the academic tradition in the 1930s, where the teachers would learn their skills on-the-job as they worked, but different in that it also requires collaboration with an education college and the inclusion of teaching pedagogy courses on the school site.

report's policy-driven (Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2008) and top-down language (Paciotto & Delany-Barmann, 2011), it is clear that this national Blue Ribbon panel posed that teacher education will be more effective if validated with the generalizable, measurable criteria currently popular with government and educational institutions in this country. For example, the panel says, "Preparation faculty and mentor teachers should routinely be expected to model appropriate uses of assessment to enhance learning" (NCATE, 2010). This agenda has been recognized as endorsing uniform curriculum and instruction standards for all, with little regard to serving the unique needs of local, individual and group differences in our society (Apple, 2001; Darling-Hammond, 2010; Goodwin, 2010; Grant & Agosto, 2008; Howard & Aleman, 2008).

The deregulatory agenda. Sometimes referred to as the "Common Sense" agenda, the "deregulatory" agenda stands in opposition to the professionalization agenda. This agenda has clear links to the neoliberalism and neoconservativism that, according to Michael Apple (2001), seek to privatize and deregulate K-12 schooling in the United States. The people supporting this agenda hold that teachers are able to develop instructional skills on their own. Teaching is a set of skills that can be "picked-up" on-the-job. These people object to colleges and universities having monopolies on initial teacher education programs and teacher certification and that alternative certification programs should be further developed outside colleges of education. According to some in this group, state teacher certification should be dismantled and schools should be able to certify their own teachers. As it was in the "academic tradition" (Kliebard, 1995; Liston & Zeichner, 1991), a teacher's subject matter knowledge and verbal abilities are seen as the main determinants of teaching success. Many with this viewpoint see lttle link between pedagogical training and teacher success. They argue that there is too much constructivist and multicultural orientation in current teacher education programs. Most

important, perhaps, they say that the knowledge base used in professionalization and used to create informal standards, is also embedded in assessments used to evaluate performances of prospective and inservice teachers. From this point of view, that knowledge base is "vague, subjective and without any research base."

The social justice agenda. The social justice agenda places the schooling of youth and the preparation of teachers for social-cultural diversity at the center of attention. This agenda is partly an outgrowth of the social reconstructionist tradition in teacher education reform in the United States. Advocates of this agenda see both teacher education and schooling as crucial elements in the making of a more just society (Zeichner, 2003; Liston & Zeichner, 1991; Freire, 1990). Their claims are substantiated by current research and literature on teacher attributes and instructional strategies associated with successful teaching in schools having culturally and linguistically diverse student populations. Educators advocating this agenda risk being ostracized by colleagues, educational leadership and governmental policy makers who, for the most part, advocate the "professionalization" agenda, a standards-based curriculum, and top-down policy administration (Apple, 2001; Darling-Hammond, 2010; Paciotto & Delany-Barmann, 2011).

Advocates of this agenda make deliberate attempts to recruit, prepare and retain more teachers of color as well as other cultural and ethnic characteristics (Cochran-Smith, 2000; Darling-Hammond, 2010; Sleeter, 2001; Villegas & Lucus, 2002). They claim the social justice agenda is the better choice for U.S. schools having diverse student and community populations. Their focus is on the social-cultural aspects of the students and the particularities of a community's demographics and histories. The so-called professionalization agenda, with its foundation of standardization, accountability measurements, and generalization, although acknowledging the need for educational equity, works less at seeking to change society through

equitable opportunities for marginalized populations. The social justice position downplays "helping" students assimilate into the majority population (Adger, Wolfram & Christian, 2007; Apple, 2001; Darling-Hammond, 2010).

Balancing professionalization and social justice agendas. There are several ways educators think about "being responsive" to student needs. One way is to focus on the "core standards" and "preparing for the annual state mandated testing." Another is to focus on the social, cultural, and linguistic qualities of the students and other members of the educational community of their schools. Doing both is difficult. To some educators, striking a balance between these two views is perhaps impossible. How can adhering to one "standard" be responsive to all social, cultural and linguistic people? In Christensen's 2002 piece, "Whose Standard? Teaching Standard English," she posits that while standards and core curriculum are unfair as to what is included and excluded from them, it is necessary to teach students how to use the information and skills so that they have opportunity in today's society. She argues that although she teaches the standards, she also tells her students "who" created the standards, who enforces them, who benefits and loses from using them, and who is kept in and who is kept out by using the standards.

Striking balance between policy, professionalization and social justice. In Cochran and Fries' final time period, 1990s to the present, the teacher education research "problem" focuses on policy. With the initiation of "No Child Left Behind" federal legislation, the inception of state-regulated educational standards, and the competency and performance-based accountability systems put in place by school districts across the country, it is easy to understand how the emphasis in teacher education research is now focusing on "policy." The shifting global economy along with the continuous growth of the achievement gap between the dominant

society and the marginalized groups has currently created urgency in teacher education to improve the education system. Improvement is needed for the well-being of students from majority as well as minority populations (Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2008; Darling-Hammond, 2010). In her book, Darling-Hammond (2010, p. 27) states:

> The United States of America is founded on the idea of educational equality. A major part of our national heritage is our commitment to the notion that all men—and women—are "created equal and are entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Furthermore, according to the 14th Amendment, all are entitled to equal protection under the law. However, the realization of these ideals has required long struggle, in education and in other arenas of national life. That struggle has concerned not only access to schooling but access to an empowering form of education—one that can enable people to think critically and powerfully, to take control of the course of their own learning, and to determine their own fate—rather than merely to follow dictates prescribed by others.

People favoring both agendas (as described here) and those carrying the mantle of both see the need to close the achievement gap and to respond to diversity in culture, language, and social status. However, there is disagreement as to how it should be accomplished. For some, there is little overlap between the two agendas. The definition of equity means marginalization and dismissal of those not in the majority. For these people, embracing standardization and its corresponding measured accountability is not expected to work toward the inclusion of minority communities. It is not expected to embrace the social justice agenda.

Evidence-based research (Denzin, 2008) was founded in experimental, quasi-experimental communities and permeated the agenda here called professionalization. The social justice agenda, although evolving in terminology and focal-needs groups, is seen by some educators as directly opposing the evidence-based approach, asking, "Whose standards are we following?" (Christensen, 2008). Educational historian, Ellen Lagemann brings up a crucial point setting apart the nationalized standards-based, social-efficiency accountability perspectives and the more systemic and localized versions of accountability perspectives. She said:

> I have often argued to students, only in part to be perverse, that one cannot understand a history of education in the United States during the twentieth century unless one realizes that Edward L. Thorndike won and John Dewey lost.[7] (1989, p. 185)

She meant that evidence-based research dominates the professional knowledge base in American educational practice.

In Jean Clandinin and Michael Connelly's book, *Narrative Inquiry: Experience and Story in Qualitative Research,*[8] the authors explain the opposing research perspectives of two groups of educators. Two noted educators/researchers, probably unintentionally, vied for prominence in educational academia: Thorndike, who wore the mantle of social efficiency, that of "measureable and manageable strategies with indices of certainty and estimates of error" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. xxv), and Dewey, who advocated "the study of life—epiphanies, rituals, routines, metaphors, and everyday actions" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. xxiv). In the 1920s, they sometimes opposed each other publicly over their respective agendas. The followers of these two have been major influences on educational practices and research for approximately one hundred years—a huge portion of United States educational history—and, in some transformation, are still at odds with each other today (Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2008; Darling-Hammond, 2010; Kliebard, 1995; Lagemann, 2000; Liston & Zeichner, 1991; Zeichner, 2003).

Educators following the so-called professionalization agenda, of course, care for students. It is for their benefit that they promote standards-based education and generalizations about achievement associated with those standards. Many of them advocate for students through a

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[7] She is speaking of the conflict between advocates for social proficiency, and names Thorndike as one of its leaders, and those who advocated social reconstructionism, naming Dewey as one of its leaders.

[8] Of course, the authors' book is an argument and an explanation for using narrative as research, but it also illustrates opposing views found in education today, especially the more prevalent "professionalization" and the less favored "social justice."

policy of assimilation, attempting to move their students from minority underclass status into the dominant society[9].

Educators following the social justice agenda, of course, care for children. They see a need to raise the voices of diverse populations, to attend with equity to all the people of school communities. They say that all members have equal value. They urge preparing students to value the diversity in people that they will be dealing with in more and more internationalized situations. The most important educational standards are those created within the local community.

In some cases, assimilation and generalization look alike in valuing and respecting diversity. For instance, "All students can learn" might be a part of any school district mission statement and might appear to be developmental and coming from a social justice perspective. Educators do put different meanings to such slogans. An educator working a standardization perspective might see this to mean, "I have to find ways to motivate all of my students to assimilate into the majority social-cultural-linguistic group so they will be accepted into the dominant culture and will find ways to be successful in their future." An educator working the social justice agenda might say, "Yes, all students can learn but they all come from their own social, cultural, ethnic and linguistic backgrounds with their own valuable ways of understanding reality, and so we must work to change the status quo as well as help our students acculturate to the dominant society realities" (Adger, Wolfram, & Christian, 2007; Bruner, 1991; Darling-Hammond, 2010; Freire, 1990; Goodwin, 2010; Howard & Aleman, 2008).

[9] Some educators do this to insure that their minority students are able to attend institutions of higher education and to obtain higher social and economic status (Christensen, 2002). Some do this because they believe that those people who immigrate to the United States should become English-speakers and should take upon themselves the values, customs and beliefs of their adopted country (Beeman & Urow, 2013).

It can be seen as an argument between generalizing and particularizing. Most of the time, the standards-based curriculum and ensuing assessments, measure all students against each other, disregarding social, cultural, linguistic differences (Apple, 2001; Belgarde, Mitchell, & Arquero, 2002; Darling-Hammond, 2010; Goodwin, 2010; Zeichner, 2003). The social justice agenda focuses on the particularities of the local community and student population. They respect these differences, perceive them as resources, and are concerned with equity for all the members of the society.

The "professionalization" or "common core" people are concerned with radical changes in the racial, cultural, linguistic, and economic contexts of society today, especially in terms of student populations (Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2008; Zimpher, 2011), but their focus remains on finding ways to express student competency and performance success. Because of the tendency to focus on the standardized view of students in the professionalization agenda, some educators categorized here try to fit those voices into the recognized beliefs of the majority population (Apple, 2001; Darling-Hammond, 2010; Sleeter, 2001; Villigas & Lucus, 2002). This might be illustrated by colleges of education that add a course or two covering diversity and consider multiculturalism as separate from the entirety of the teacher education program (Banks, Cookson, Gay, Hawley, Irvine, Nieto, Schofield, & Stephan, 2005; Darling-Hammond, 2010).

Weisman and Hansen (2008), coming from a Latino perspective, explain the impact of the professionalization agenda on teacher candidates. With the agendas' use of the dominant socio-culture-language, the authors note:

> It is also essential to recognize that by the time many teachers of color enter teacher preparation programs, they have experienced years of schooling that have emphasized assimilation into the mainstream culture and a disregard for their culture and linguistic knowledge . . . one coping strategy Latina teachers used to deal with significant tensions between home and school cultural values was to adopt the school values. (p. 656)

The researchers went on to say that it was ironic to assume that anyone might think these Latina teachers would know how to be culturally responsive in their teaching after years of assimilation into the majority culture. Educators following Weisman and Hansen and the social justice agenda claim that the competencies and performances chosen are biased by society's dominant culture and leave out important traits of "others," the non-dominant cultures, languages and ethnicities. The social justice agenda seeks to infuse all teacher education program courses and field experiences with issues, concerns and values of the "diverse" society (Cochran-Smith, 2000; Grant & Agosto, 2008; Sleeter, 2001, 2008).

Democracy cannot exist without diversity—to exclude various divergent voices is to exclude democratic ideals and principles. It is the particularities of the different people that work to make a country democratic (Dewey, 1903; Waks, 2010). Democracy, sometimes seen as listening to all of the voices found in a community, is an important aspect of the social justice agenda. John Dewey, one of the leaders of the social reconstructionist tradition, posited:

> The best guarantee of collective efficiency and power is liberation and use of the diversity of individual capacities in initiative, planning, foresight, vigor, and endurance. . . . Full education comes only when there is a responsible share on the part of each person, in proportion to capacity, in shaping aims and policies of the social groups to which he belongs. This fact fixes the significance of democracy. (Dewey, 1920, p. 209)

Following Dewey, the social justice agenda treats the differences in the student population and in society, as assets—assets that may build stronger teacher education understandings and knowledge banks. Although the so-called professionalization agenda also focuses on diversity, its standards-based curriculum and assessments underplay amelioration and utilization of socio-cultural-linguistic differences among students. The essence of their standards hue to correlates of social-cultural-linguistic differences, with little perception of them as assets. "Diversity," in the perspective of those defending the "professionalization" perspective,

including standardization in their agenda, is mostly treated as a problem needing to be solved rather than as an asset or resource (Adger, Wolfram, & Christian, 2007; Valdés, 2001).

Access to equitable education. Noffke and Zeichner (2006) show how various ideas and events in time have influenced teacher education research. The two authors use three themes to talk about events, emerging knowledge and practices that influenced the changes through time periods beginning in the 1920s and ending in the 2000s: teacher behavior, teacher inquiry and educational access. Of these three themes, "Educational Access" seems to be the most informative in terms of where educational institutes and policies may focus in achieving equity in education. The two researchers explain:

> There have been periods of expanding access to kindergarten through 12th grade education and long periods of struggle for civil rights, with demands for federal legal and legislative action to improve equity in educational access. (pp. 827-828)

Poverty, racism, gender and cultural bias, among other important civil rights issues, have been present in our society for generations. Noffke and Zeichner, in their article, explain there is a need to look closely at the issues related to "access" in teacher education and at the issues related to increasing the capacity of teacher education programs to improve teachers' skills in educating diverse populations. Access to equal educational experiences is and has been a major concern of the social justice agenda. Teacher capacity is connected to "access," especially in how a teacher candidate brings his or her own "reality" to his or her teacher education program. Their reality has been heavily influenced by prior educational experiences. If they experience that there is only one way to be an educated person, they will bring that view to their teaching (Bruner, 2004, 1991; Cortes, 1986). It seems essential to a teacher education program to encourage other perspectives of teaching in their education students.

Teacher capacity and socio-cultural-linguistic responsiveness. Teacher capacity, widely discussed but largely unmeasurable, is the knowledge and skill that teachers have to work

with the complexities of teaching and learning. It goes beyond the technical and behavioral perspectives of scientific research-based competencies and performances to include broader views of "social diversity and education." Advocating a greater emphasis on the latter, although barely leaving a view that one education fits all, Howard and Aleman (2008), explain:

> The history of teacher preparation reveals an ongoing search to identify the most useful means of preparing teachers and to characterize the capacity that each teacher must possess to help educate the nation's student body population. Yet, mostly absent from this discourse, research, and recommendations have been discussions of teachers' capacity to teach non-mainstream students—those who are poor and/or who come from culturally diverse backgrounds. Despite years of committees, consortiums, and task forces dedicated to the creation of core standards, essential knowledge, and effective practices in the field of teacher education, more attention is needed to the changing demographics in the nation's schools. (pp. 157)

Since the 1920s education and educational research has been facilitated and constrained by curriculum, learning theory and governing policies (Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2008). It has been heavily influenced by the professionalization agenda and the practical value of standardization (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Kliebard, 1995; Liston & Zeichner, 1991; Zeichner, 2003) Although educators and educational researchers have seen large increase in diversity of the student population (Adgers, Wolfram, & Christian, 2007; Christensen, 2002; Fine, 2002; Herrera, Murry, & Cabral, 2007; Paciotto & Delany-Barmann, 2011), it has been "only within the past 30 years" (Howard & Aleman, 2008) that student diversity has been prominent in teacher capacity discourse.

Many prospective teachers need to have explicit direction toward understanding what will be expected of them as teachers in the diversity of communities and with today's diversely populated classrooms. They should benefit from field experiences that, hopefully, help shape and move their perspectives to include the idea of student diversity as an asset and beneficial resource to their classroom (Cooper, 2007; Goodwin, 2010; Grant & Agosto, 2008; Howard &

Aleman, 2008). These programs should include, according to Goodwin (2010, pp. 22), five knowledge domains:

> (1) personal knowledge/autobiography and philosophy of teaching; (2) contextual knowledge/understanding [of] children, schools, and society; (3) pedagogical knowledge/content, theories, methods of teaching, and curriculum development; (4) socio-logical knowledge/diversity, cultural relevance, and social justice; and (5) social knowledge/cooperative, democratic group process, and conflict resolution.

Furthermore, teacher education programs infused with the ideals of social justice are to be "coherently expanded, and importantly, supported through university structures and funding agencies" (Noffke & Zeichner, 2006).

Cultural responsivity. Villegas and Lucus (2002) suggest "six salient characteristics" that define a culturally responsive teacher: (a) The teacher is socioculturally conscious, recognizing multiple ways of perceiving reality and that these perspectives are influenced by one's standing in the social order. (b) The teacher affirms views of students from diverse backgrounds, seeing resources for learning in all students rather than viewing differences as problems to overcome. (c) The teacher sees herself or himself as both responsible for and capable of bringing about educational change that will make schools more responsive to all students. (d) The teacher understands how learners construct knowledge and is capable of promoting learner's knowledge construction. (e) The teacher knows about the lives of her or his students. (f) The teacher uses his or her knowledge about students' lives to design instruction that builds on what they already know while stretching and challenging those students beyond the familiar.

From these advocated traits the authors created teacher education strands that should be present in programs today in order to meet the needs of a diverse society. There are several elements one might find as a part of a teacher's program in a social justice agenda.

According to Sleeter (2001), to address the cultural gap in our schools today, a program can take two different lines of action; they can bring teachers of more culturally diverse backgrounds into the teaching profession or they can try to develop the attitudes and multicultural education knowledge base of predominately White cohorts of preservice teachers. She further states that these two lines are not mutually exclusive, but differ in emphasis. Sleeter goes on to claim that teacher education programs need to: (a) include recruitment and selection of preservice teachers or teacher candidates of color and social-cultural-linguistic minorities, (b) implement community-based, cross-cultural immersion field experiences, (c) infuse multicultural ideals in all courses, (d) implement stand-alone multicultural education courses, and (e) include multicultural education coursework with fieldwork experiences, in order to instill social-cultural-linguistic responsiveness in teacher candidates.

Sleeter identifies programs that recruit and prepare mostly teacher candidates of color and recruit and select only those who bring experiences, knowledge and dispositions that will enable them to teach well in culturally diverse urban schools. In community-based and cross-cultural immersion experiences, some programs have their preservice teachers live in communities culturally different from their own. Indiana University is said to have a community-based program where their education students do an intense preparatory course the semester before the immersion experience. During these immersion experiences the students are involved in projects in the community where they do their student teaching. Sleeter asks, “How long does an immersion project need to be? What kinds of settings work best? What impact does an immersion experience have on a teacher when he or she enters the profession?”

Sleeter states that many teacher education programs add courses in multicultural education, teach about the urban child, develop teaching of English-language-learners, and

variations of these. She goes on to describe "stand-alone multicultural education" courses. The strategies used in these courses seem to raise awareness of race, racism, culture and discrimination in students. There is usually some kind of reflexive writing such as mail cultural exchange with others in different cultural contexts, autobiographies, simulation of unequal opportunities, teaching about White privilege and engagement of students in debates. Narratives and action research are also used to encourage reflection in students.

Some cases Sleeter studied involved multicultural education coursework with a field experience. Using pretest and a post-test, her findings were unclear as to how these courses impacted the preservice teachers. She suggests that there should be studies following these education graduates into their teaching situations.

Second Language Learning

There are several foundational theories in the field of language learning. These theories are foundational to first and second, or mono- and multi-literacy learning. Prevalent theories at this time are: (a) Behaviorist—based in the work of John B. Watson and Burrhus Frederic Skinner, where language is said to be acquired by conditions or stimuli from the environment objectively acknowledging the behaviors of learners. What behavior is observable and measureable, not the mental states, attitudes or moods they considered too subjective (Power & Hubbard, 2002); (b) Innatist—sometimes called Nativist, this theory is associated with Noam Chomsky with underlying rules for language and featuring humans' unconscious knowledge of grammatical structure, ostensibly making the learning context irrelevant to the acquiring of language (Beck & Olah, 2001); (c) Constructivist/Social Interactionist, the Constructivist theory is associated with social psychologist, Roger Brown, who first became interested with

Chomsky's work, but later saw that language was learned from one's social group. The Social Interactionist theory is associated with Clark and Halliday (Power & Hubbard, 2002); and (d) Social-Culturalist—presently a highly popular language learning theory being used in current research of language learning, is associated with anthropologist, Del Hymes, from whom "communicative competence" is developed when using the language found within your culture/social group to acquire that group's language skills as well as acquiring knowledge of the world at the same time. This requires interaction with others in that group for the learner to acquire not only the language, but also how and when it is to be used (Adger, Wolfram, & Christian, 2007).

English for speakers of other languages education. Krashen (1981) argues that in developing language teaching methods and materials, educators should use a combination of three approaches: (a) make use of second language acquisition theory, (b) use applied linguistics research, and (c) use ideas and intuitions from one's own teaching experiences. This is much like what teachers in other fields of knowledge are encouraged to do through preservice and inservice professional development programs.

> What theory implies, quite simply, is that language acquisition, first or second, occurs when comprehension of real messages occurs, and when the acquirer is not "on the defensive," to use Stevick's apt phrase. Language acquisition does not require extensive use of conscious grammatical rules, and does not require tedious drill. It does not occur overnight, however. Real language acquisition develops slowly, and speaking skills emerge significantly later than listening skills, even when conditions are perfect. The best methods are therefore those that supply "comprehensible input" in low anxiety situations, containing messages that students really want to hear. These methods do not force early production in the second language, but allow students to produce when they are "ready," recognizing that improvement comes from supplying communicative and comprehensible input, and not from forcing and correcting production. (Krashen, 1981, pp. 6-7)

Krashen gives five "key" hypotheses on language acquisition theory. The first discriminates between language acquisition and language learning, saying that language acquisition is a subconscious process not unlike the way a child learns his or her first language.

The learner is not aware of the grammatical rules, but rather "picks up" the structure naturally over time. Language learning is different in that it is the "conscious knowledge of a second language—knowing the rules, awareness of their existence and ability to speak about them. The second hypothesis says that there is a natural order to language structure, "the acquisition of grammatical structures proceeds in a predictable order." This does not mean, however, that grammar should be taught in the natural order it is acquired.

The third hypothesis of Krashen is that language that is subconsciously acquired, "initiates our utterances in a second language and is responsible for our fluency." The language we consciously learn acts as an "editor" focusing on form, knowing the rules, especially when composing a paper. This "editor" Krashen calls the "monitor." The author makes an observation of learners who either "over-use" or "under-use" their monitoring ability. Those that over-use this are "so concerned with correctness that they cannot speak with real fluency." The under-users have either not learned the knowledge and skills associated with the language they are supposed to be learning or they choose use their conscious knowledge. The latter is discussed at length in Guadalupe Valdés' book, *Learning and Not Learning English: Latino Students in American Schools* (2001).

Krashen's fourth key idea is the "input" hypothesis. This says that a language learner at a particular level, he puts it "at level i," needs to receive comprehensible input that is at level "i + 1." He says that we acquire language only when it is a little beyond what we presently use. He warns that we should focus on communication that is understandable: "Production ability emerges. It is not taught directly." Krashen also states that when learners try to produce language beyond what they have already acquired, they fall into using structures of their first language, allowing them to communicate, but not to acquire the second language at the next level.

The fifth key Krashen discusses is the "affective filter" hypothesis. It says that motivation, self-confidence and anxiety all affect language acquisition, raising or lowering comprehension in learners.

Bilingual and two-way dual-language immersion education. In a paper Krashen presented at the National Association for Bilingual Education conference in 2004 (published in 2005), "The Acquisition of Academic English by Children in Two-Way Programs: What does the Research Say?" Krashen took a critical look at two-way language programs used in English acquisition—those programs that integrate the teaching of two languages within the content areas of education, as with English and Spanish languages being used while teaching social studies, mathematics, science, and the like. The purpose of his paper was to examine one aspect of the research on two-way programs, "specifically, to examine the progress of language minority students in acquiring academic English." He wanted to know: (a) "Do English learners in two-way programs show evidence of significant acquisition of English?" (b) "Do they outperform children in non-bilingual (all-English) options?" and (c) "Do they outperform children participating in other forms of bilingual education?" Krashen relied on quantitative studies that used "reliable" proficiency test scores for the comparisons. With a small data set, he concluded that two-way children do as well or better than native speakers of English. He found it difficult to make substantial comparisons because of small sample sizes and differences in the particular programs. He cautions us to:

> Consider long term cognitive development, social and attitudinal factors, the ease of implementation and efficacy of different versions of two-way bilingual education, the effect on heritage language and the effect on majority language students, especially those from low-income families who may have little opportunity for first language development outside of school. (p. 13)

Krashen concludes that although there are issues in comparing the studies he chose for his study, a "close look at the data shows that two-way programs show some promising results."

In a study completed by Deborah Hasson (2006), the author examined the extent to which bilingual Hispanic young adults used their two languages in various aspects of their lives. She used her Language and Education Survey (Hasson, 2001) to compare Hispanic college students who were enrolled in bilingual or English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) programs in their elementary schooling to students who experienced an All-English curriculum. Her study showed that there were considerable statistical differences in testimonies between the bilingual and ESOL groups and the All-English groups of students in the way they used their two languages, coming nearer to the English end of the continuum between "first/heritage" languages and "second language/English." The young adults were using English as their main language of communication. This shows that the students were, for reasons not entirely apparent in her report, assimilating to the majority language. It could be because the nature of the earlier ESOL programs in Florida were taught mainly by White, English-speaking teachers, who for the most part, were adjusting their own perspectives between remediation/assimilation and acculturation of the immigrant students. This was a common struggle for ESOL teachers in Florida during the early 1990s when the ESOL policies were in their initial stage (Barnett, Yarosz, Thomas, Jung, & Blanco, 2007; Dorner, 2010; Kasper & Rose, 2002).

Two articles, one by Arce (2000) and the other by Martin-Beltran (2010), look at transforming society by using two-way immersion. These two articles endorse leading elements of the social justice agenda, responsiveness to socio-cultural-linguistic differences between dominant and non-dominant student populations and democracy, and enhancing the voices of those in our society who are regularly ignored or dismissed as less important.

Martin-Beltran's 2010 article, "The Two-Way Bridge: Co-Constructing Bilingual Language Learning Opportunities," attended to the nature of student interactions in a dual

immersion school to "analyze bilingual language learning, language exchange and the co-construction of language expertise." Beltran found that students learned not only the language structures, vocabulary, and meanings of the two target languages, but also understandings of the social and cultural knowledge shared and not shared between the two groups of students. Similar to Beltran's study is one conducted by Josephine Arce, who "drew a portrait of an actual classroom striving to initiate a transformative educational experience in an urban elementary school among students of different socioeconomic status, cultures, and languages." She used a participatory research design that asked: (a) How is critical pedagogy applied to a lower primary-grade classroom? (b) Through the teacher's own preconceptualization of voice, how can opportunities be provided for young children to develop voice? and (c) How does literacy function as a means of empowerment for first-grade students?

Beside seeing the various ways that children interact when given activities to become critically aware of the choices they make in decision making, Arce (2000) found that the teacher became deeply committed to becoming a transformative educator (working in a social justice agenda). This may be one of the side effects of working in a language immersion classroom, that is, the teachers have their own transformative experiences, changing their own identities and perspectives.

Two-way bilingual immersion as social justice. Many of the same issues and concerns appearing in the field of education are being faced in the sub-field of language acquisition. This is not surprising since most ESL education takes place in public schools across the country and in many cases is delivered by classroom teachers who have earned endorsements or certification from ESL programs either incorporated into their college of education programs, or from separate foreign language college programs, or from inservice programs created partially or

wholly by school districts (Adger, Wolfram, & Christian, 2007; Kasper & Rose, 2002). Many of those programs throughout the country are driven by language policies passed down to school districts, and get interpreted by those districts to mean assimilation of non-dominant and marginalized students into the dominant culture and/or language (Adger, Wolfram, & Christian, 2007; Kasper & Rose, 2002; Krashen, 2004. 2005; Paciotto & Delany-Barmann, 2011).

Many of those programs fulfilling the requirements of State-mandated language policies have administrators and teachers who deeply care about their English Language Learners (ELLs). The standards-based curriculum, assessments, high-stakes tests, and the accountability systems generated from the standardization side of the professionalization agenda force many educators to accept the "assimilation" perspective (Adger, Wolfram, & Christian, 2007; Christensen, 2002; Fine, 2002).

There are a few districts that look at language policies broadly and interpret them or "correct them" (Paciotto & Delany-Barmann, 2011) to respond to their students' social, cultural, and economic states. These districts cite socially-culturally responsive ideals, such as those found in the social justice agenda that Zeichner (2003) outlined. There are still many language researchers associated with the psycholinguistics perspective. Many are concerned with grouping language learners together and comparing their proficiencies and studying the generalizable systems of language.

The literature on *assimilation and acculturation* is extensive, and were I to lengthen this literature chapter, that is one direction I would move. Similarly, much has been written about monoliteracy, biliteracy, and multiliteracy. My research on the dual language program at Westview focused on the fading of the innovation rather than the instigation, so the complex nature of multi-literacy was not much thought about by the teachers. It should have been, but the

French speaking African children had missed the innovation boat and preservation of the biliteracy of Westview drained the exploration from the teachers' minds. I explored these two literatures but am not reviewing them here.

Community and Education

For this case study, the community is an important context. The community's role in creating, developing and sustaining a public school will be reviewed, such as possible issues or concerns emphasizing the community's role in directly affecting the daily functions of a school. I used the "social justice agenda" predominantly to view what was happening at Westview Elementary. This agenda includes many aspects of community, its influences and impacts (Cruz, 2005; Murrell, 2001; Valdés, 2001; Waks, 2011).

> One of the dangers we face in our educational systems is the loss of a feeling of community, not just the loss of closeness among those with whom we work and with our students, but also the loss of a feeling of connection and closeness with the world beyond the academy. (Hooks, 2003, p. xv)

Community is often the focus of those advocating a social justice agenda, as well as others. The definition of community ranges broadly. Noffke and Zeichner (2006) point to the importance of including community in research on teacher education. More research and teacher education development should come from teachers and schools and should "attend to the understanding of teacher education from the standpoint of students and the communities to which they belong." The authors are speaking of several communities: research communities, communities of teachers, the communities within a school such as the students, teachers, school staff, etc., and the communities where the students live that include the parents and family members of students attending the school, other people who live in the area of the school but have no children attending the school, and businesses in the area where the school is located. The

thoughts, beliefs, values, and ideals of various members in a community influence what takes place in their area schools.

In the introduction of his book, Peter Murrell (2001) speaks in opposition to the educators and policy makers currently in power in education in the United States. (Here we have identified them as professionalization advocates, but clearly they are not primarily devoted to advocacy for the teaching profession.) These people advocate standards-based curriculum and accountability systems that to many seem indifferent to the needs of urban schools. Murrell expressed this dismay:

> Education for children and youth in our nation's urban schools and communities is in a continuing state of crisis. Children and youth of color, especially African American and Hispanic learners in urban school districts, continue to bear the brunt of public school dysfunction. We live in an era in which educational policy seeks to "raise the bar" under banners of "raising standards" and "professionalization of teaching," while at the same time tolerating systems of urban schooling that literally throw away children's educational futures. (p. 1)

Murrell makes an argument throughout his book to include the particular needs of the communities in the decisions made concerning educational policies, school curriculum and instruction. He voices regret as well regarding teacher education failing to address the unmet needs of urban student populations and schools, and not creating supportive "circles" of teachers who help the professional development of new teachers coming to work in urban schools. He also includes colleges and other local staff development people in this community circle. It is noted that here is a social justice advocate crying out for a more effective profession.

Murrell says that local community centers can also be brought into the support circle, helping with successful learning situations for urban students. His contention is that with only two communities—the community of schools, colleges and departments of education—and the other community, the community of school personnel, are not enough. In his book, he puts forward the following questions: (a) What constitutes effective practice in today's diverse urban

classrooms and communities? (b) What does it take to become an effective urban teacher? c) What is the trajectory of development from novice to accomplished teaching practice? and (d) What systems of inquiry, collaboration, teaching, and professional development produce the accomplished teacher in urban teaching?

Murrell (pp. 5-7) outlines a "community teacher framework" for educating teacher candidates using seven principles:

1. The primary goal of any school of education dedicated to preparing successful and competent urban teachers is the development of a system of accomplished practice.

2. Accomplished practice in diverse urban schools and communities can be articulated, shared, and communicated as a set of standards that make it possible for both practicing teachers and teacher candidates to achieve this level of practice.

3. Community teachers are developed through a system of practice-oriented, community-dedicated, and urban-focused instruction and assistance based in rich field experiences.

4. Given sufficient opportunity to incorporate new understandings in systematic activity and the guided assistance of more skilled urban practitioners, any candidate can become a community teacher.

5. Developing the practice of community teachers requires a progressively leveled system for assisting the professional activity and performance of the candidate, where the assistance is provided by a collaborative network of colleagues rather than a single mentor teacher.

6. Preparing the accomplished teacher requires the "right" context of professional activity and development.

7. The contexts for advancing teaching practice need to be understood at multiple levels of expertise, experience, and activity, and as an ecology of practice within professional work.

Others, too, emphasize that working with the existing communities and creating new, flexible and evolving collaborative communities are essential for providing access to education for the non-majority and marginalized populations found in urban schools and those found more recently, in rural school settings (Paciotto & Delaney-Barmann, 2011).

In Christine Villani and Douglas Atkins' (2000) article, "Community-Based Education," the authors state, "Community cohesiveness is a natural goal for which we should strive." They speak of communities needing to "embrace their schools, schools in which students learn and grow into productive citizens." While this may sound as if they are supporting "assimilation" to the dominant culture/society/language (because they were saying that the students might develop the beliefs, morals, customs, and languages of the community in which they are associated, acculturating to that community. The students' identities, the way they perceive themselves and their realities will be fostered by their immediate community/communities (Bruner, 1991, 2004; Rashti & Solomon, 2008). Seeing community as encompassing a wider boundary that shows the intricate connections between various groups of people located within its boundary is an essential understanding in many agendas (Noffke & Zeichner, 2006; Rashti & Solomon, 2008; Zeichner, 2003).

Innovative Programs of Instruction

The topic of innovation in curriculum and instruction is a vast examination of teaching since World War II. Much has been tried and learned. It is regrettable that the efforts of innovators have been too often measured by whether the changes became permanent. The health of a system might be measured in its readiness to try something new. In any case, the writings have been prodigious and are pertinent to the decade at Westview, but have been judged less critical to the research question here and omitted from this chapter. There will be discussion of educational innovation in Chapter 6.

Using Features of Dual-Language to Frame Observations

Connecting with the community when creating, implementing and sustaining a dual-language program is one of the features that Cloud, Gennessee, and Hamayan (2000) advocate. This text will provide one way to frame what was happening in Westview Elementary School's dual-language program. All of the initial dual-language teachers used this text during the times they built their curriculum. With it they began instruction in the program and created assessments for their students. Their book is *Dual Language Instruction; A Handbook for Enriched Education.* In it the authors outline, explain and advocate crucial features needed for dual-language programs to function properly. The book expands upon many of the ideas stated in the literature reviewed so far. The authors created two abbreviated lists for creating and assessing dual-language programs. I have used them both to assist in my observations of the activities at Westview Elementary School. This combined list was expected to help analyze the data, especially those data from the D-L classroom observations. Later, I used the combined list to frame the discussion in Chapter 5.

The following is my combination of the two lists *"Critical Features of Enriched Education"* and *"Checklist of Criteria of Effective Enrichment Education Programs*" (Cloud, Genesee, & Hamayan, 2000, pp. 9, 46-48):

1. Parent involvement is integral to program success
    - The school has positive, active, and ongoing relations with the students' parents.
    - The program has a well-conceived community outreach plan that genuinely responds to parents' goals for their children.
2. Effective programs have high standards
    - The program has clearly articulated and high standards in first and second language development, academic achievement, and culture.
    - Effective instruction and learning are the primary focus in the school.

- The focus of the instruction includes the same core curriculum that students in other programs experience.

- Teachers and school personnel believe that all students can learn to high standards in academic domains while developing proficiency in two languages.

3. Strong leadership is critical for effective programs

   - The principal is well informed of the critical features of Enrichment Education and can use them to inform others about the program and to advocate on behalf of the program with parents, the community, and with other educators.

4. Effective enrichment education programs are developmental

   - The curriculum and instruction are developmentally appropriate for all students.

   - The curriculum is organized to insure continuous development in language, academic domains, and culture.

   - The program provides bilingual instruction to participating students across all the elementary grades.

   - The program has a long-term plan with respect to curriculum, materials and professional development, space requirements, and other important resources.

5. Effective instruction is student-centered

   - Curriculum and instruction are student-centered and dynamic, changing to reflect the changing needs of the students.

   - Assessment is geared to the special needs of the students who are learning academic content through their second language.

   - Instruction and curriculum are culturally relevant to the students' home backgrounds and communities.

   - Teachers are well informed of the backgrounds of all their students and know how to build such knowledge into lesson plans.

6. Language instruction is integrated with challenging academic instruction

   - The curriculum is based on the premise that language can be learned most efficiently while learning other challenging academic content.

   - Language that is comprehensible and interesting is used sufficiently to insure that students understand new academic content.

- Students are provided ample opportunities for using language actively to insure oral and written language development.

- The curriculum systematically plans for the development of language skills that are needed to master new academic content.

- The non-English language is used for instruction a minimum of 50% of the time and English is used at least 10% of the time.

7. Teachers in effective enrichment education programs are reflective

   - Teachers and administrators are engaged in ongoing learning and professional development.

   - Teachers understand and can use a variety of assessment methods creatively.

   - Assessment is tightly linked to instruction.

   - Teachers can conduct assessment in culturally sensitive ways.

   - The program for language minority students is flexible and provides a variety of instructional approaches.

8. Effective enrichment education programs are integrated with other school programs and schools

   - Student progress is monitored frequently and discussed by staff.

   - The program for language minority students is an integral part of the whole school.

   - Staff works closely together to plan instruction, both across grade levels and across content areas within the same grade.

9. Effective enrichment education programs aim for additive bilingualism

   - The school has a positive climate, where staff and students exhibit positive attitudes toward each other.

   - The school provides an emotionally and physically safe environment for students and teachers.

   - The program provides educational enrichment and is not remedial in orientation.

   - Staff shares the belief that bilingualism and cross-cultural competence are not only important individual and societal assets but are necessary skills for the future.

- The program provides a learning environment in which all students have the opportunity to learn a second language in addition to their primary language.
- The program for language minority students reflects the critical features of enriched education.

These criteria will be used frequently in the following chapters to . . ..

A more recent book written by Beeman and Urow (2013), *Teaching for Biliteracy: Strengthening Bridges Between Languages,* is similar in content to the Cloud text. It uses updated vocabulary and concepts as well as focuses on individual teachers attaining knowledge and skills to assist their students in attaining "academic" biliteracy. It explains less of how "bridging between languages" is used in a "program" within a school. The text advocates biliteracy or multiliteracy education. Each chapter lists key points for that chapter.

The Cloud, et al. and Beeman and Urow's texts list key components found in most dual-language programs and in bilingual or multi-lingual language classrooms. It is important to note, of course, that some or all of these components are found in general education classrooms.

Support for Teachers

The first part of this section looks at how teachers receive support for use of teacher-centered instruction and child-centered instruction in their classrooms. Many teachers use both types of instruction, and it is often expected by school administrators that they do so. However, some interpretations of federal and state policies and other mandates are affecting current instructional choices. Here I will look at the support teachers may be getting or not getting as they use these two kinds of instruction in their classrooms.

The second part of this section addresses staff development and mentoring. That area has an impact on the first, as well as on many other aspects of teaching and learning. Here I also look

into the role leadership plays in initiating, supporting and sustaining what educational experts tell us are "best practices" in teaching and learning.

Teacher-centered and child-centered teaching and learning. In the Bruce Joyce, Marsha Weil, and Emily Calhoun 2002 book, *Models of Teaching*, the authors suggest that teachers should learn and use many models and styles of teaching in order to be more flexible and to respond to their students' needs. This, the authors advocate, increases teacher effectiveness and student achievement. The book explains several ways (they call models) of teaching, coming from many different social, psychology, and educational philosophies and involving teacher-directed (or teacher-centered) and student-directed (and or child-centered) styled teaching and learning.

I refer again to the Cloud, Genesee, and Hamayan (2000) text that the Westview dual-language teachers used as a resource, to points 4, 5, and to some extent, 6 (pp. 46-47). Point 4 calls for the program to be constitutionally developmental. The authors advocate that the curriculum and instruction within the dual-language program be "developmentally appropriate for all students" and that the curriculum be organized to "insure continuous development in language, academic domains, and culture." They further urge the program to provide bilingual instruction "across all the elementary grades" and a "long-term plan with respect to curriculum, materials and staff development, space requirements, and other important resources." In point 5, the authors suggest that instruction be student-centered:

> Curriculum and instruction are student-centered and dynamic, changing to reflect the changing needs of students. Assessment is geared to the special needs of students who are learning academic content through their second language. Instruction and curriculum are culturally relevant to the students' home backgrounds and communities. Teachers are well informed of the backgrounds of all their students and know how to build such knowledge into lesson plans. (p. 47)

In point 6, the authors ask that dual-language programs provide language instruction that is "integrated with challenging academic instruction." They reiterate socio-cultural language learning theory that in part says, "languages can be learned most efficiently while learning other challenging academic content." They continue:

> Language that is comprehensible and interesting is used sufficiently to insure that students understand new academic content. Students are provided ample opportunities for using language actively to insure oral and written language development. The curriculum systematically plans for the development of language skills that are needed to master new academic content. The non-English language is used for instruction a minimum of 50% of the time and English is used at least 10% of the time. (p. 47)

The authors used educational research and literature that is not only pertinent for second language learning application, but is also used broadly in educational learning situations, such as the project approach, constructivist, holistic, whole-language, problem-solving, investigative, and inquiry-based teaching and learning (Brooks & Brooks, 1999; Dolmans, DeGrave, Wolfhagen, & Van der Vleuten, 2005; Genesee, 2001; Katz & Chard, 2000; Krajcik, McNeill, & Reiser, 2007; Savery, 2006).

Fred Genesee (2001), in Chapter 1 of *Educating Second Language Children: The Whole Chide, the Whole Curriculum, the Whole Community*, explains the advocacy for child-centered and developmental teaching throughout the different-authored chapters in the book. He states that this way of teaching is not only necessary for second language learning, but is also recommended for "grade level teachers, bilingual teachers, and first language development specialists" (p. 2). Three important subsections of his chapter are titled, "The Whole Child," "The Whole Community," and The Whole Curriculum." In the first subsection he discussed the necessity of instruction being developmental:

> It builds on the skills, knowledge and experiences that young children acquire prior to coming to school and while they are in school, and extends and broadens their skills and experiences in developmentally meaningful ways throughout their school years. In other

> words, the starting point for planning and delivering instruction is the child—instruction for second language children should be first and foremost *child-centered*. (p. 3)

The second subsection argued that the academic success of students is greatly influenced by their linguistic and social backgrounds. He explained that early research of academic failure of students from minority sociocultural groups only looked at language skills of these children, seeing the lack of the targeted skills as deficits and were "symptomatic of underlying cognitive deficiencies that hampered childrens' achievement in school." He said these deficiencies were often blamed on the "social relationships and intellectual climate" of the students' homes. He posited:

> It is foolish to advocate educational programs that seek to remediate or compensate for nonexistent developmental deficiencies in language minority children, as the earlier deficit view showed. And it is wasteful to talk about minimizing the differences between the homes of language minority children and mainstream schools if this means ignoring the capabilities and knowledge that language minority children bring with them to school. To the contrary, the developmentally sound and "pedagogically optimistic" approach is to encourage development of the home language and culture both in the homes of the language minority children and, where possible, in their schools. . . . This can only happen, however, if teachers become knowledgeable about and comfortable with the larger communities in which these children grow up and live. (p. 7)

In the third subsection, Genesee discusses the fragmented instructional needs of second language children who are assumed to need full proficiency in the language of instruction before being given full access to instruction in the content areas of the curriculum. Schools often become preoccupied with "special language instruction at the expense of instruction in other areas of the curriculum." He explained that in the last two decades language learning theory has shifted its paradigm, no longer stating that language needs to be learned in isolation from other content areas. He says:

> It is now generally recognized that languages are acquired more effectively when they are learned in conjunction with meaningful content and purposive communication. Meaningful content provides a motivation for language learning that goes beyond language itself. Certainly, a few school-aged children are interested in learning language

> for its own sake. Integrating language learning with meaningful and interesting content also provides a substantive basis for language learning.

Genesee argues that there is a challenge in developing curriculum that is "fully integrative, child-centered and individualized and needs full consideration of educators. It takes second language teachers, grade level teachers, administrators and other community members, not the isolation of a few teachers working with second language students. Curriculum planning, the community resources and involvement, and the viewing the wholeness of the student, must be fully accepted and integral to the administrators, the teachers, the other school staff and the parents and other members of the community for students to acquire new language knowledge and skills.

Beside the acceptance and practice of holistic and developmentally sound curriculum and instruction, some difficulties and problems may arise due to the situations where this kind of teaching is used. Dolmans et al. (2005) in their article discussing challenges of using problem-based learning, state that even though many teachers and students are highly satisfied with problem-based learning (PBL), there are often issues encountered while using PBL that stem from poor implementation. They argue that educators using PBL should avoid being too directive during the PBL process, should not create problems that are too structured or that lead the students to certain solutions, and should observe and nurture the collaborative groups during the PBL activities so that social dysfunctions in a group do not interfere with the process of PBL. These suggestions seem to fit other inquiry-based and child-centered learning styles.

Savery (2006) in an article on the history, characteristics, and distinctions between similar inquiry-based learning and PBL says much the same thing. However,he says that high-stakes assessments have reinforced instructional approaches that focus primarily on memorization through drill and practice and rehearsal of taking standardized tests. He sees the instructional day being "divided into specific blocks of time" and "organized around subjects."

He argues that when this kind of focus is used in a school, "there is not much room in this structure for teachers or students to immerse themselves in an engaging problem" or project (depending on who is directing the activity, the teacher or the students—PBL is mostly teacher-centered, although allowing the students to arrive at their own solutions, where the project approach most always arises from a student or a group of students natural inquisitiveness. Both may lead to greater knowledge of a topic, both may vary in where the lessons lead, although PBL tends to be more restrictive in solutions than the project approach). Savery brings up an important point for using PBL (and for using inquiry-based learning and teaching) in the conclusion of his paper:

> We do live in interesting times—students can now access massive amounts of information that was unheard-of a decade ago. There are more than enough problems to choose from in a range of disciplines. In my opinion, it is vitally important that current and future generations of students experience a problem-based learning approach and engage in constructive solution-seeking activities. The bar has been raised as the 21st century gathers momentum and more than ever, higher-order thinking skills, self-regulating learning habits, and problem-solving skills are necessary for all students. Providing students with opportunities to develop and refine these skills will take the efforts of many individuals. (p. 18)

Lilan Katz and Sylvia Chard (2000) explain the use of the project-approach with young children in their book, *Engaging Children's Minds: The Project Approach*. In this child-centered instruction, the research question comes from the student or students' natural curiosity about their experiences or observations. Katz and Chard say that many of the questions will fizzle out in the matter of a day and others will develop into projects that last for whole school years. The teacher's role is quite often that of a facilitator and guide with her/his students, but also requires the teacher to be a partner in the learning process along-side her/his students. This requires several things: (a) the teacher to be confident in leaving her/his comfort zone, as in only teaching what is known by them and in allowing the students to guide the choice of curriculum and

questions, and in not knowing what the end of the project will look like; (b) the time during the school day in which the project inquiries and the processes that develop from them, such as the researching through books, field trips, internet, field experts, etc. and the reports, presentations, books, dramatic plays, dances, other performances, and displays of gained knowledge and skills; and (c) the support of this type of learning by parents, teaching peers, administrators, and community members. In the book the authors named three phases (pp. 70-73) and name five strategic features (pp. 73-76) of the project approach. The phases are: Phase I—Planning and Getting Started, Phase II—Projects in Progress, and Phase III—Reflections and Conclusions. In Phase I the teacher helps the students develop a set of questions that guides their investigation. In this phase the teacher encourages the students to talk about what they currently know about the topic under investigation, and to write about their current understandings. Sharing this information creates common groupings and expands knowledge and collaboration within the class. The teacher's main role in Phase II is to allow students to access new information and knowledge, arranging field trips, communication with experts on the topic, and she/he collects books, objects, photographs, and other resources for the students to use in their individual or group investigations. In Phase III the teacher helps bring the investigation to closure using such things as performances, presentations, exhibits, etc.

The five features the authors state are necessary for project development and response to children's interests are: (a) discussion of all aspects of the topic during various times and done in whole-class, in small-group, and between individuals; (b) fieldwork, where students are given experiences where they are allowed to make inquiries, observe activities, and choose to make individual trips with parents or others to gather pertinent knowledge beneficial to the project completion; (c) representation of the knowledge they have gained through many means; (d)

investigation of the topic through experiments, observations, research resources, and field experiences; and (e) display. The display could include collections of artifacts and or photographs, lists of vocabulary words developed specifically from the investigation of the topic, as well as presentations and or dramatic play. The authors also explained that as engaging, enjoyable and important as the project approach can be with students, that it does not take the place of other ways of instructing students, such as the teacher-directed, small-group or individual work done in reading recovery and guided reading. As transdisciplinary as the project approach is, it is still necessary for teachers to assess, level, and work on the necessary grade level skills students need in order to move to their next grade level. The authors, like others I have included in this section of the chapter, note that leadership is one of the keys to in supporting the use of the project approach.

The importance of leadership. In the Cloud, Genesee and Hamayan (2000) book, the third essential feature they list as necessary in order to initiate, implement, and sustain a dual-language program is: "Principals and teachers demonstrate strong leadership on behalf of the program." We have been told in educational literature over the decades, that leadership is key to supporting ways of teaching and learning necessary for students to gain new knowledge and skills and to improve what students have already attained. Teachers and administrators should therefore be knowledgeable of the many teaching models, styles, and educational perspectives underlying these practices in order to support student learning and the skill and knowledge development of themselves and other staff members.

Staff development and mentoring. This glimpse of how teacher education programs are being actualized throughout the U.S. will include a look at on-site professional development, such as Professional Development Schools (Darling-Hammond, 2006; Duffield, 2005; Feiman-

Nemser, 2001; Murrell, 2001). Westview Elementary has relied on on-site teacher inservice education from a nearby college for its teachers' professional development. I will look at the importance of staff development and mentoring on alternative emergency teacher certification, because many of the teachers in the dual-language program at Westview Elementary School were certified through this kind of program. Professional support for teachers is important to innovative programs such as the dual-language program at Westview. And so this section will include literature on teacher's staff development and mentoring and then will look at how these activities impact alternative certification programs and innovative school programs, such as at Westview.

Teacher capacity: Identity within societies, cultures and languages. In Cochran-Smith's 2000 article, "Blind Vision: Unlearning Racism in Teacher Education," she addresses the fact that many of our public school educators and teacher educators are White. She notes that the idea of racism "learned simply by living in a racist society" is provocative. It challenges "not only our democratic ideals about equity, but also our beliefs in possibilities of school and social change through human agency." She suggests that educators' most complex questions to wrestle with are: (a) In our everyday lives as teachers and teacher educators, how are we complicit—intentionally or otherwise—in maintaining the cycles of oppression that operate in our courses, our universities, our schools, and our society? (b) Under what conditions is it possible to examine, expand, and alter long-standing (and often implicit) assumptions, attitudes, beliefs, and practices about schools, teaching, students, and communities? (c) What roles do collaboration, inquiry, self-examination, and story play in learning of this kind? (d) As teacher educators, what should we say about race and racism, what should we have our students read and write? And (e)

What should we tell them about who can teach whom, who can speak for whom, and who has the right to speak about racism and teaching?

The author then tells her own story of coming to understand "her journey" through "color blindness," giving examples of how she incorporated her new understandings into the classes she taught. She points out that it is critical for educators to analyze any curriculum to see what messages are being given about race and racism, and what identity perspectives are implicit and what is valued or devalued. She encourages the use of stories of race and racism in the curriculum and throughout the teacher education programs with all of the staff and students participating in the program.

Merseth et al. (2008) do much the same as Cochran-Smith, only lead author Merseth's personal story comes from being a "rare teacher of color." She speaks of walking in two worlds, that of the prestigiously educated and professionally oriented educator, based in the dominant White culture of reality, and that of a representative of the "Black" world, with her upbringing, physical appearance, and knowledge and application of community norms and beliefs of many of her students and community members. The authors studied 65 preservice teacher education candidates who attended an 11-month teacher certification program dedicated to urban education. All were studying to become middle or high school teachers. A third of the participants were minority students. Merseth and her colleagues asked:

> Why do these individuals want to teach in urban schools? Their outstanding academic records and the longstanding research about the low academic quality of teacher entrants combine to suggest that individuals in this group would not have interest in teaching. In addition, research on the sorting of teachers across schools within the states and school districts suggest that candidates with these profiles would not elect to teach in urban schools. And yet teaching in urban schools is exactly what they wanted to do. (Merseth et al., 2008, p. 91)

In this study the researchers examined the identities of their participants and the influence of the student teaching experiences on developing their professional identities. Documenting and

describing what happened to the students' identities during their field experiences as expressed in their own words, is seen to help people gain a "nuanced understanding" of the immersion experience on teacher candidates.

Among the researchers advocating the social justice agenda there are certain elements which need to be addressed in teacher education programs which include, (a) selection of teacher candidates and of program instructors to include qualified people of color and of non-dominant ethnicity, culture and language (Darling-Hammond, 2010; Sleeter, 2001; Villegas & Lucus, 2002); (b) expanded teacher capacity to include self knowledge and/or identity and philosophy of teaching, knowledge and understanding of children, schools and society,[10] and pedagogical knowledge including diversity, cultural relevance and social justice (Cochran-Smith, 2000; Cooper, 2007; Goodwin, 2010; Grant & Agosto, 2008; Howard & Aleman, 2008; Villegas & Lucas, 2002); (c) research "situated clearly within social agendas, in particular in relation to issues of social justice" (Noffke & Zeichner, 2006); (d) guided field experiences that include social-culturally responsive immersion into "diverse" classrooms, schools and communities throughout the entire teacher education program (Cooper, 2007; Garcia, Arias, Murri, & Serna, 2011; Merseth, Sommer, & Dickstein, 2008; Murrell, 2001); and (e) extended mentoring/professional development of inservice teachers through collaboration between education colleges and school districts (as in Professional Development Schools) where teacher research is acknowledged as valuable, and where teachers work as change agents in creating a more equitable society for their students, their schools, their communities and the world (Belgarde, Mitchell, & Arquero, 2002; Darling-Hammond, 2010; Feiman-Nemser, 2001; Villegas & Lucas, 2002).

[10] Villegas and Lucas include, "an affirming attitude toward students from culturally diverse backgrounds," meaning the acknowledgement of the existence and validity of a plurality of ways of thinking, talking, behaving, and learning.

Using immersion in teacher education to understand community. The use of "immersion," where preservice teachers are exposed extensively to communities where social status, cultures, languages, religions, traditions and beliefs are different from their own, is found in several teacher education programs in the United States (Cooper, 2007; Nieto, 2006). Its proponents argue it to be the best and quickest way to prepare prospective teachers for working in schools where the student population is diverse. Jesus Nieto calls his immersion approach, "The Cultural Plunge." He explains:

> Simply put, a cultural plunge is individual exposure to persons or groups markedly different in culture (ethnicity, language, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation, and/or physical exceptionality) from that of the "plunger." (Nieto, 2006)

Nieto says that ideally "plunges" should last about an hour. He says he requires four of these experiences in his course. He outlines the requirement in his syllabus, requiring that the "plunges" be in spaces other than restaurants and schools that are "turf" of the focal group, new experiences not done before, and done without visibly taking notes. These experiences can include events such as attending a local church, temple or synagogue event, attending a program where a language other than their own first language predominates, interacting with homeless people, or interacting with people with disabilities, etc. These plunges are to help students gain insight into their own values, biases, and affective responses, as well as to view the "other" perspectives found in various communities.

According to Jewell Cooper's (2007) work, her students take a longer length of time to gain these perspectives. Her university has a State Teaching Fellows Program where scholarship loans are given to outstanding high school seniors who are committed to teaching in K-12 public schools after graduation. In accepting the loans, these Teaching Fellows (TFs) agree to attend a weekly seminar every year during their tenure at the university. Each seminar has an established theme. The junior year the theme is "diversity." Cooper's goals for the diversity themed seminars

are: (a) to help the TFs experience diversity or "otherness" themselves, (b) to provide sequentially connected experiences for cultural engagement that goes beyond those experiences provided by the schools where the TFs were completing their internships or student teaching practices, and (c) to help students discover the community/human assets in each community they explore.

Cooper executes these goals by implementing six activities, the first four taking place in the Fall semester. These six activities are: (a) Written Autobiography—which included important events leading up to the TF's decision to teach; (b) Bio-Poem—this exercise allowed TFs to be "the me I want others to see," is a 10-line formula poetry strategy; (c) Privilege Walk—identity-based sequenced activity for students to discover the diversity within themselves, as well as to experience preconceived notions and beliefs about people, particularly their friends; (d) Camera Safari—preservice teachers are in groups of two or three, with disposable cameras. The groups take pictures to answer ten questions related to the community where their students live; (e) Walking a Mile in Another's Shoes—includes real-life scenarios to enact experiences that might be experienced by their students' families; and (f) Debunking the Community—TFs are required to attend at least two different services at a predominant center of worship in their school community, make purchases in that community and spend time in the community's grocery store at least twice, not in the same week, and to participate in one recreational activity with community members.

For six weeks, the TFs participate in the community where their "Camera Safari" took place or the community where their students come from to complete the last two activities. Cooper's community-based program lasts one year; however, students may also be placed in

communities of diverse population in their field experience placement, making this "culturally responsive" situation last longer.

Another "immersion" program example is also a PDS example, with coursework and field experiences3 completed at the site. It is important to note that both undergraduate and graduate level courses in teaching were featured in 2000. In Stacy Duffield's 2005 paper, "Swimming in the Water: Immersing Teacher Candidates in the Environment of a School," discussing a 3-year study, the author explored the question, "Does increased immersion at a PDS site impact preparation of teacher candidates?" Duffield cites Darling-Hammond's 1996 work, for naming PDSs as a means for removing the isolationism facing many novice teachers and teacher candidates, believing a PDS can be a place of strong induction. In a PDS, the field experience is one of the more important experiences. The author uses Dewey's (1938) concepts, saying he recognized the importance of authentic, relevant learning and related this type of learning to teacher candidates. Duffield explains that in Dewey's time, the field experience was a compromise, setting artificial circumstances that were meant to mimic real life teaching situations—he called this "learning to swim without going too near the water." The author said:

> Dewey called for a genuine apprenticeship, implicating veteran teachers as models and guides for novice teachers as they find their way in a real classroom with real children. While being steeped in the principles of teaching and learning is vital, unless these principals are contextualized by experience in the field and made concrete through practice, they will not be understood . . . not all field experiences offer the right kind of training. A practice teaching experience must offer more than superficial learning. (Duffield, 2005)

In the case of Duffield's study, the field experience is offered through a local elementary school, a PDS site. It is a K-5 school located in a highly diverse community where nearly 40% of the students are from minority groups, and 60% of the students are designated as those in a socioeconomic status qualifying for free or reduced cost lunch.

Duffield found that the people involved at this immersion, community-based, and PDS site, had extraordinary experiences, developed strong and meaningful relationships with students, parents, peers and community members, as well as influential relationships with their cooperating teachers. It seemed that the teacher candidates rated their learning experiences at the highest level.

The idea that immersion and course activities can bring about change in prospective teachers' dispositions, attitudes and beliefs is found in the research topic of "identity," especially those studies stemming from issues of student diversity.

Conclusion

In his book, "Deer hunting with Jesus," newsman Joe Bageant (2007) described his West Virginia hometown as a place where people had lost faith in rationality. They knew that people were not rational and that authoritative statements such as news telecasts and public service bulletins were not only flawed but manipulated. Whatever you were being told was a solicitation of support, a sales pitch, a grasping for control. So it might also be true that the people of Westview, including the teachers, sought neither research nor professional experience to tell them how to educate immigrant children. They too were dubious about state and university truths.

Much of the research and professional writing about teaching and learning languages is the expression of thoughtful people wanting better education. There are differences partly because there are many views as to what education is better. The definition of a high achieving student is precisely indicated by the state's commitment to standardized testing, yet reservations run high throughout the school and community. The history of education in the last hundred

years is a history of advocacy, with new views emerging as the socio-political-economic times have changed. This chapter has documented that history and philosophy.

The task of this research is not to explain the present learning system in one particular school in terms of this history, but to examine the enervation and debilitation of a particular dual-language program once thoughtfully conceived to address the demographic change in the community. The concepts of social philosophy, teacher support, and state requirements are useful for deep interpretation but the story is to be found in the actions of the teachers and school leaders and the inaction of students and community members. The next chapter will provide insights as to how access was gained and how action and inaction became manifest.

Chapter 3

A Qualitative Case Study Approach

> The function of research is not necessarily to map and conquer the world but to sophisticate the beholding of it. (Stake, 1995, p. 43)

A study of world educational immigration would be incomplete without study of particular schools. Methods for understanding the voluntary and forced flow of people to cities and across borders, and the accompanying educational function and dysfunction, draw upon macro-analytic convergence of the kind Jared Diamond used in "Guns, germs, and steel: The fates of human societies" (1997). But micro-analysis is also essential to understanding the effects of culture on education. Micro-analysis is the study of the particular persons, actions, settings—the happenings in these classrooms and those neighborhoods. This research on dual-language teaching in a particular school drew on micro-analysis in a qualitative case study. It was an ethnographic inquiry into what those teachers were doing over a set period of time.

A View of a Decade

The dual language program was approaching its tenth anniversary. About a quarter of the elementary school children of Perkins, that is, about half the elementary children of the Westview school, including all the Spanish speaking children, and none of the African immigrant children, were enrolled in the program. About half the Westview teachers were dual language teachers. The program engaged half the school. I wanted my research to be seen as a formal program of research. I started it as an intact program, hoping the dual language teachers would find it valuable to be associated with it. I invited them to participate, and was disappointed when only about half of them did.

My research question was “What has happened to the teacher-initiated, college–supported dual-language program in this culturally diverse rural community?” From direct observations I could find much of the current status of the teaching. But having no observation data over the rest of the decade, I would need to learn about the happenings mostly by interviewing the teachers. There was a written data trail, but it identified mostly what the teachers were told to do, not what they actually did. District and school administrators followed local and regional customs of allowing and encouraging the teachers to work unsupervised, attending themselves to guidelines and directives of State and local policy. Thus they were not a strong source of data for the details needed to answer the question. The methods of data gathering were largely two-fold, observing and interviewing the teachers.

Perhaps the main happenings in the community that decade related to local industry. As industrial workers were imported at minimum wages, they brought needy children to the schools. These children had not been leading students in their previous schools and they did not speak English. The dual language program might have doubled the burden on Westview teaching, at least for teachers not accustomed to giving language the priority it needed in a dual language program. The record of curricular happenings in Westview was largely in the recollections of teachers. Students and parents were little aware of the intent, the burden, and the teaching strategies of the dual language program.

Other changes were taking place during the decade. State and Federal education authorities were increasingly inspired and compelled to show that the schools were effective. The budget for schooling locally continued to dominate local and state tax allocations but the perception was dropping that school funds were spent wisely. Wise spending had three indicators, the satisfaction of citizens, the testimony of educators, and scores on the state tests.

As the school population changed, the scores edged downward, and citizen confidence edged downward, and the educators were less inclined to claim that the teaching was good. The state became more aggressive in picturing the schools in Westview and elsewhere as superior, even adequate. The local superintendent became more the bearer of bad news, less the advocate of teaching and particularly the dual language program.

State Involvement

I wanted to study how teachers at Westview were interpreting State education policies and directives from their District administration. State directives included the school being placed in Early Academic Warning Status, then into Academic Warning Status, and then the school being required to design and implement a Strategic Improvement Plan (SIP) and to create a SIP committee with members from the administration, teaching faculty, parents, and other community members. The SIP, although created with teacher input, was intended to strengthen the State's specifications of teaching. The preparation was undertaken in democratic style, not so much to hear the entire group of teachers, but to authenticate the specified standards. The committee may or may not have ESL and bilingual educational concerns in mind when they make SIP decisions.

Another State requirement, one of immediate teacher involvement, obligated the school to show how State standards were being implemented in ways State auditors could recognize. The teachers were required to identify individual standards in their lesson plans and to submit copies to the principal. Another directive from the district curriculum director and the principal required teachers to use only adopted textbooks and to cease using materials developed by the teacher and her collaborators. The desired end was to be a unified and standardized curriculum. I

discuss some of these directives later in this chapter. I also wanted to know what the current District Administration was doing to support teachers who made efforts to teach in "socially-culturally-linguistically responsive ways." What helped and hampered that exchange? The communication net in the District was oral, interpersonal, and informal, making it difficult to find requirements and supports through document review. I hoped to learn the community's and the parents' involvement in the dual-language program, plus how the dual-language program interacted with "general education" in the other classrooms at the school. The best tool I had for these matters was conversation. Official communication was not accessible to the observer. With the small number of participants, written surveys made little sense. Formal interviews tended to get formal and noncommittal answers. I had to find out the culture of curricular control by hanging around, listening, and chatting with the more amenable teachers. Triangulation depended on hearing the same thing again and again and not hearing words to the contrary.

An Experiential Approach

For a qualitative case study of an organization, it is usually important to provide "contextual description," "experiential understanding" and "multiple realities." The readers of the report need to know what happened during the study, especially the experience of the main participants, but also the experience of the researchers (Stake, 1995). As in any telling of a story, the setting is especially important for understanding the complete pictures. This allows each reader to come to his or her own understandings without being forced to conclude what the researcher concluded. Usually there is narrative and dialogue, partly meaningful because the particular setting and context are important throughout the entire written report.

In this case study I investigated the intricacies and interactions of a two-way language immersion bilingual program. I gave only some attention to the founders and former participants because this is not so much a case study of historical events, but of what people are doing presently in the D-L program and how they saw the program change. Among key people were the school district's director of language acquisition, the school principal, the teachers in that program, and the two professors. Students, parents, and community members were given less attention.

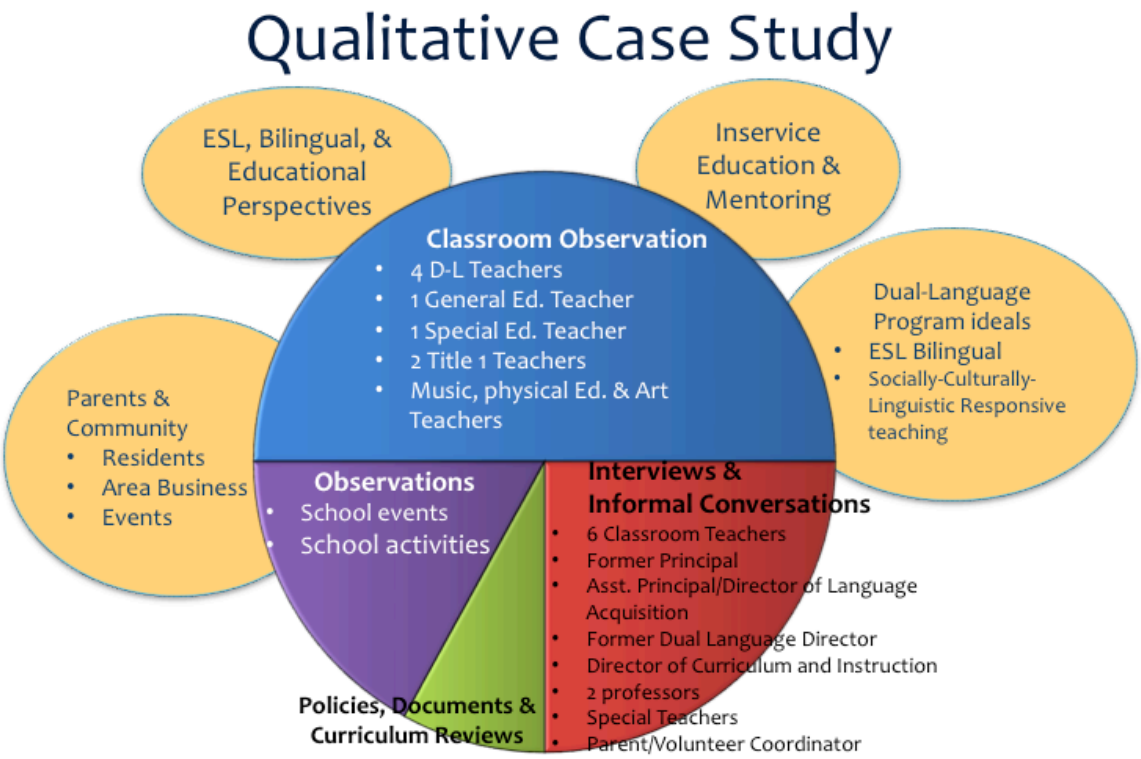
To study and understand the various contexts of the school, the teachers and the two original professors working with the teachers, I used qualitative inquiry methods. According to Stake (1995), each case study is unique:

> Each one is similar to other persons and programs in many ways and unique in many ways. We are interested in them for both their uniqueness and commonality. We seek to understand them . . . we enter the scene with a sincere interest in learning how they function in their ordinary pursuits and milieus and with a willingness to put aside many presumptions while we learn. . . . Case study is the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances.

This is how I approached this case study, with an openness and a hope to see what my participants saw. Although I had been an ESL teacher in public schools in two states, had taken courses to obtain my ESL endorsement certification, and had my own ESL and general classroom teaching experiences, I sought to understand what was happening at this school and with the teachers there. I observed and listened to the teachers, the professors and other members of the school's community.

The Design of this Qualitative Case Study

For my research proposal and preliminary oral examination, I expressed my design in the following graphic:



Selection of Teachers, Observations and Interviews

Westview Elementary School was unique, more than many regional counterparts, in that it was a new diaspora site, a school for immediate immigrants. The teachers of 10 years earlier initiated an educational program promoting biliteracy and acculturation. The student population was specially diverse with Hispanic members from South America, Mexico and Puerto Rico, and African immigrant students from several countries including Senegal, Sierra Leone, Guinea, and Tonga. The White students were from agri-business families, many who had been community members for generations.

My study focused on the dual-language program the teachers designed and implemented in the school. There were three types of classrooms at Westview: The English-only general education classrooms; the English-Spanish "stand alone," fully bilingual immersion classrooms;

and the team-taught, two-way, English-Spanish immersion classrooms. The latter two constituted the dual language program.

In the team-taught, two-way English-Spanish immersion classrooms, there were two rooms with a teacher for each room. The class size in each classroom was equal or almost equal. The students attended half the day working on the curriculum content of their grade level in an English speaking environment and spent the other half day working on grade specific curriculum content in a Spanish speaking environment. These team-teachers worked together to provide curriculum content to two classes of students in the two languages, English and Spanish. I asked both of these teams to participate in my observations and interviews.

I also invited two of the Spanish-English "stand alone" bilingual classroom teachers to participate. One of these teachers joined the study earlier in the study and the other later, but I was given access to observations and to interviews with the two of them.

I wanted one of the general education classroom teachers to participate. A special-education teacher volunteered for the study and I included her. She had students from different heritage languages in her classroom throughout the day. Although a special education teacher, she was teaching with a general education perspective. This gave me an understanding of how the classrooms worked to service the students of Westview Elementary School and served to highlight the particularities of the dual-language program.

I also invited the two Bilingual/ESL professors involved in the school's initial professional development efforts to participate in interviews with me. I asked for interpretation of what I saw in classroom observations and heard in interviews with the teachers. An interview with the principal and the director of language acquisition was necessary. I invited the superintendent to talk with me partly to get an overall role of Westview Elementary in the

district. Also important in my design was two to four teachers from the district's other elementary school. I wanted an idea of how outsiders saw Westview and of the changes at Westview in the decade. I wanted to include about six parents in interview sessions because parents are valuable resources for understanding the workings of a school.

I expected each interview to last approximately 30 to 40 minutes and to take place during non-student contact times. Each participant read and signed a consent form before an interview was begun. On the consent form was a space for the participant to agree to allow me to audio-record the interview. Writing responses can interfere with conversational flow and threatens the relaxed quality of the interview session. Also I find it difficult to remember enough without a recording. I often find themes and issues easier to recognize in transcriptions with the full text.

An Issue of Side Effects

In my first visit to the school, before I designed my case study, I saw that there were other than English and Spanish-native speaking students attending Westview. In the 14 years since the first immigrant Spanish-speaking families took up residence in the community, several African immigrant families had moved into the community. There were African students who spoke French-as-a-common-language and several other tribal languages as well as the Spanish-speaking students attending Westview Elementary School. These African immigrant students were placed in the "general education" classrooms where the teachers had little to no ESL backgrounds. The administrators felt that placing them in a program they saw as only English-Spanish program would complicate their language learning. This prompted me to ask: Does this two-way, bilingual program avoid social, economic, cultural, ethnic, linguistic, and other discrimination toward marginalized community members?

What the Interviews Asked

- Personal data—from all interviewees: teachers, professors, students, parents, administrators, community members.
- The teaching and learning activities of this school.
- The changes during the decade of the dual-language program.
- How the learning activities of the classroom carried into the students' home and community surrounding the school?
- Motives: Educators—for teaching, creating, supporting a dual-language, two-way immersion program (D-L TWI) the educational perspectives the participants working from.
    - Were the goals of the two professors different than those of the school district who hired them to coach the teachers at Westview Elementary?
    - From what academic perspectives did the district administrators view the school?
- Motives: Parents—for choosing a D-L TWI for their children to attend.
    - Why was the enrollment at Westview Elementary rising each year as the enrollment at the other elementary school went down?
- Educators—Current and previous ESL work experience.
- Parents—Current and previous ESL experience.
- Role in the school—What role did the interviewee see herself or himself having in the D-L TWI?

The Observations

This study included formal observations of six Westview Elementary teacher participants. Each was observed up to 16 hours, non-consecutively, during regular school days. I classified the instructional strategies used by the teachers and the responses of the students. One of the initial observations was completed near the beginning of the study and the other closer to the end.

However, the design of the study was more a matter of continuous observation at the school rather than specific visits to classroom and formal interviews. I was a visitor, but after a while, I was an accepted visitor, an expected visitor. I stopped thinking that someone might be doing something out of the ordinary just because I was there. Of course I remained someone from the outside, but it did not seem to matter very much. I was getting a similar picture of the dual language program whether I was near the center or at the periphery of interactions. I deliberately triangulated my main facts and findings, partly by looking for and not finding contradiction.

Although the complexity of a school's dual language program is high, I had chosen a small school and community to study. I could not count on every teacher and official to participate. I had to learn a great deal from a small number of people. The methodology of my study would have to be suitable for a "small town" study. I would meet as many as I could, become friends with a few, observe carefully over and over, and get help in interpreting what I was seeing and hearing. I would be frank about my research question and the issues that supported the exploration, but I would need to talk their talk, use the language and the images and the stories of their dual language teaching. I would see the program as "a case" in particular contexts, especially time and place and teaching practice. And I would use the qualitative modifiers of interpretational, experiential, situational and personalistic (Stake, 2010, p. 15) to gain understanding of the fading of the dual language program at Westview.

The interpretations I present in Chapter 6 and the conclusions in Chapter 7 are, in the tradition of social research, aggregations of data. The data are not tallies or measurements, but the accumulation of experience. I became accustomed to hearing, seeing, and living the same experience, more and less, day after day. But it is more than my own experience. It is the

experience of teachers, administrators and students that I learned about from what they said and what they did. Surely I must have interpreted some of those aggregations wrong, but with a commitment to skepticism and a circle of informal collaborators, I was able to cast aside some of the misinterpretations. In my last two chapters, I have tried to provide enough of the reasoning for readers to find fault and merit in my methods.

Data Analysis

Although not entirely based in Huberman and Miles' (1998) interactive model of gathering and analyzing data, it was the foundation on which I based my data analysis. There are four components in their approach: (a) data collection, (b) data reduction, (c) data display and (d) the drawing of and the verification of conclusions. At times during my case study, any of the components could be happening simultaneously. Data reduction happened during the writing of the summaries of field notes, organizing data under themes, coding data, the finding of issues and organization of collected data under these issues and the compartmenting of memos and other data. This phase began immediately as I first collected my data. The data display and the conclusions phases included the follow-up and member checking with participants, interpretation of the collected data, the triangulation and the constructions made from the observations and interviews. Both description and interpretation contributed to understanding the complexities of Westview Elementary School.

Triangulation, according to Stake (1995, p. 107), uses the research protocol to search for accuracy and alternative explanations for the interpretations of the case. He states, "Data source triangulation is an effort to see if what we are observing and reporting carries the same meaning

when found under different circumstances" (1995, p. 113). Triangulation was used throughout the interviewing, data analysis, as well as in drafting the final report.

Ethical Considerations

The names of participants and places were anonymized in the transcripts of field notes, interviews and in the final case report. No pictures of people or sites associated with this study are to be published. Maps and aerial photographs were not used. No street names or other identifiable labels were used. Participation in this study was voluntary. Some teachers refused to answer my questions or allow me to observe. No one asked me to leave their classrooms. Participants were free to remove themselves from participation at any point. During the reviewing of field notes and interview recordings, the investigator "member checked" the drafts to gain accuracy and avoid intrusion.

Rich Description

Rich description is the provision of detail of dialogue, action and contexts to make the narrative writing experiential. This is to offer the reader a vicarious acquaintance with the classrooms observed and people interviewed, allowing readers to construct their own images and to connect with their own life experiences. I used rich description in my data gathering and provide the following example of a personalized overview of the community.

A drive to and around the community.

> The drive to Perkins from my home is taking much of the middle of the day. I see fewer cornfields than expected. I remember that in 1998, when I first drove around here, I had not been able to see much beyond the edges of the road. The fields of tall corn blocked my vision of what lay in the distance. The fields along the roads to Perkins now are not planted in so much corn, and when there is corn, it seems shorter. Yes, I know, corn grows fast.

Because the land is relatively flat and the crops shorter, I am able to see greater distances as I drive to Perkins. The fields vary in color and texture as if an artist has pieced them together for an abstract tapestry. I am surprised by the variety of crops in the expansive fields.

During my drive, I pass towns, some very small villages, breaking the scenic monopoly of the fields. Most take but a few minutes to pass. When later I check online for city populations, density and size, I find Perkins' neighboring towns small, most covering well less than a square mile.

The low, flat land seems to hold rich earth the pioneering settlers sought when they reached the grasslands of the Midwest. The surrounding agricultural fields stretch out for several miles around Perkins. There are many large field plots, but seldom houses, which makes me think that these fields may be farmed by corporations more than by the "smaller" farmer.

In the area surrounding Perkins, I find a network of gravel roads leading to small properties. Looking for a short cut, I hail two men in a light truck and ask where that side road leads. They laugh, shake their heads and tell me it's a dead end both ways. They tell me that many of the dirt roads in the area are similar and it is best to stick to paved roads if I want to get anywhere. They give me directions back to the main road.

An old steel bridge stands on the road not far from Perkins, its rivets bleeding rust and its paint long faded. The water in the small creek is low. The bridge is high and narrow, but a lot of traffic crosses. I do not stop to see it closely.

Arriving, I bump over the railroad tracks and wonder why the new high school and middle school buildings are so close to a railroad yard. I think of the close proximity of these two schools also to Westview Elementary and wonder how this closeness might affect the staff and students. Although I do not tour the high and middle school sites this visit, I expect to see them during the months ahead. I drive away from the school complex to look at town and surround.

Inside the town is a small park with a working fountain and seats around it. Several saplings have been planted along the sidewalk leading to that bandstand or gazebo. There are shade trees but not much shade. Toward the edge of town is a natural prairie with walking trails. The sun is strong; the temperature at noon was 104 degrees. No one is in the park except me.

As I drive up the street, I see but two people, and they do not stay long. One heads into a realty office; the other leans against a cement wall shading him and the boardwalk. Four cars are parked near the park. The only sound I hear is the water fountain. The heat makes it difficult for me to breathe as I walk to my truck. I notice a tavern off the boardwalk. This may be the fourth I have seen.

On the next street I see a restaurant with several cars parked. Three elderly White people are leaving the restaurant, calling goodbye as they open car doors. That is about all the activity I see today, a weekday. Perhaps the town is busier on weekends or during the evening. I will check back later.

On the town's website I had opened the business section and read about a huge revitalization grant the town received. I wondered if the abandoned buildings at the edge of town are part of the project. To reach the renovation project I go on a one-lane street. The entrance is down a steep slope into a well-cracked cement parking lot. A man there explains to me how to find the entrance. He also tells me that the city promised to finish the project but had not kept the promise. He also tells me that I should look at it and see how it has been created with fill dirt. He says it was a waste of money.

I drive down the narrow road and park my truck in an overgrown, crumbling parking lot. I take my camera, step down to the surface and walk around. There are huge potholes through the lot in both concrete and dirt areas.

At the end of the parking lot is a boarded-up two-story building heavy with graffiti. I am alone. The space seems menacing, maybe I should not be by myself here. I walk quickly to my truck and drive away. The blacktop is soft, maybe not very sturdy, with no guardrails to keep a vehicle from tumbling down steep sides. I carefully drive to the exit and head back toward the center.

While atop some high ground I can look down into a park area. I see a recreation building, a baseball diamond, some tennis courts and a few picnic tables. It is another small park, seeming even smaller when you stand and look back at the abandoned buildings.

On the map, the park looks like a scenic creek-side park. On this hot day, without a cooling breeze, the park is not attractive. Off to one side, overlooking the baseball diamond, is an imposing, tall building. Its windows and doors have been removed, leaving gaping, dark rectangles. Parts of the building, especially those nearest old entrances, are crumbling. I wonder why the building is still standing. Is it still used for something?

Like the peeling paint on the the building walls, the absence of people downtown during business hours, the unfinished and decaying "project," this crumbling tower may be a clue to what is happening in Perkins.

The homes, for the most part, are smaller than I expected. Many have "for sale" signs in the front yard. Some of the houses are not well kept. A few look like those built for WWII veterans in the late 1940s. When I earlier checked the Census statistics I found that around 40% of the town's houses were built before that war. No neighborhood seems to have every house built in the same time period. Older, larger two-story bricks mingle with boxy, one-story frames. The lots seem smaller in the neighborhoods near the project.

On the far side of town, where the high school, middle school and Westview Elementary are located, the housing seems more recently built and the lot sizes a little larger.

I see yard signs saying, “Pray, Perkins, pray” on every street I travel and in windows of businesses. I make a note to ask about the origins of the signs. Looking down the street now, I see a solitary woman walking toward the smaller houses. She appears of Latino/a ethnicity. I drive a few more streets, seeing no one.

Later, wanting an idea of housing prices, I visit online realtor sites to view the houses for sale here in Perkins. The 2010 Census says that the median price of a house here is around $60,000, which is well below the state median of $200,000 and the national median a little lower. Of course, rural makes a difference. A little less than half of the houses in Perkins were valued at $40,000-60,000. I did not find out about renting.

Perkins Demographics

The 2010 Census report gave an accounting of race and ethnicity of Perkins, the state, and the United States. Rounded information is listed below.

Table 1

2010 Census Report, population by Race

Race	Perkins	Illinois	United States
White	84%	69%	72%
African American	1%	14%	12%
American Indian or Alaskan Native	2%	0%	1%
Asian	1%	5%	5%
Other	12%	12%	11%

Table 2

2010 Census Report population by Ethnicity

Ethnicity	Perkins	State	United States
Hispanic	18%	16%	16%
Non Hispanic	82%	84%	84%

Note. The Census report indicates that a Hispanic ethnicity can be Mexican, Puerto Rican, Central or South American, or be of some other Hispanic origin. It can appear in any race.

The Census report confirmed my expectation that Perkins was a mostly White community with a relatively large Hispanic population. Of course, that is not an indicator of the different beliefs, customs, and religions to be found in Perkins. Nor does it tell about interactions between community members with the school. These population figures probably have changed since the census was taken. And school populations are different from community populations.

Chapter 4

Experiencing Westview Elementary School: Gaining Access

Westview Elementary School is part of the Perkins campus, which includes the neo-modern brick middle school and high school, all within steps of each other. On my second visit to the school, I had IRB permission to begin my research, and my preliminary defense committee had given me permission to begin my study. At this meeting I discussed the revised research proposal outlining what I wanted to do at the school with the principal, Mrs. Carpenter, and the director of language acquisition, Mr. Huston. I had prepared packets explaining my study design. The packet included the description of the setting of the school.

Presentation of the Proposal to the Principals

Mrs. Carpenter welcomed me into her office and ask me me to sit in a chair across from her at her desk. She was wearing a brightly colored Westview Elementary School sweatshirt featuring a cartoon character of the school mascot, with khaki slacks and tennis shoes. After a few minutes of friendly chit-chat, Mr. Huston walked into the room, smiled and greeted me and closed the office door.

I had prepared three report packets with an explanation of my study design, which contained the third chapter of my preliminary defense proposal, the methods I planned to use in my research. I gave one each to Mrs. Carpenter and Mr. Huston. The principal agreed to deliver the third packet to the district superintendent who was unable to attend the meeting. For several minutes, they read leafed through the pages. Reading the vignette I quoted in the previous chapter Mrs. Carpenter remarked,

> Carpenter: (Chuckling) Yes, we *are* where you say we are. At first, as I was reading the description of the setting, I wondered why you would say this, but,

it's true, this is where we are. (Mr. Huston nodded his head in agreement. They both smiled and continued to read silently.)

Huston: Wow! This description of Perkins is spot on. How long were you here on that visit?

I said I had taken a day to drive around the area and that I had visited different restaurants and shops. I had read the city's website pages and newspapers from the area as well as looked at the census reports and satellite pictures of the community. These, I explained, helped me describe the setting of Perkins and its community.

Mrs. Carpenter asked me when I wanted to start the study. I said that I would begin right away. Mr. Huston said he would talk to several of the teachers to see if they would participate in my study. The two of them said they would give all of the teachers the letter of introduction I had prepared for the purpose of finding teacher participants. I would check back with them the next week to see how many teachers would be participating. There was some concern that teachers had just participated in a study and so they might not want to participate, but Mr. Huston believed that there would be quite a few who would want to be involved because of what I wanted to study. I told them I would be willing to help the school by volunteering in some ways and had also performed music and coordinated history fairs in the schools in which I had taught over the years.

Carpenter: (Looking half at Mr. Huston and half at me.) You could perform in our International Fair! Do you do Irish fiddling?

Gilman: Mostly old time, but yes, I have some Irish pieces I play.

Carpenter: Well, maybe you can participate and help us with the International Fair. Can you stay past school hours? Are you able to meet with the committee? We can introduce you to Mrs. Taylor who is chairing the committee.

I thanked the two, said good-bye and left the school to drive home.

Gaining Access to Teachers and their Classrooms

The following week I made a phone call to Mr. Huston asking how many teachers had volunteered to participate.

Huston: I'm a little surprised. Only two teachers are willing to participate.

Gilman: I had better come out and meet some people and see if there might be a few more interested parties.

I needed more teacher volunteers. I made arrangements with Mr. Huston to drive out to Perkins later that week. I then went to my research director to tell him what was happening. I told him that I told the two principals I would do something to either entertain the students, as in story telling or reading with them, or would perform some fiddling and other music to acquaint myself with the Westview Elementary School teachers. He smiled and said, "Take your fiddle."

When I appeared at the school door later that week, I had my fiddle on my back. I signed in at the office visitor book, put on my visitor's badge on and walked down to Mr. Huston's office. He gave me the background information on the two teachers and offered to take me down to their rooms. I told him that I had brought my fiddle to meet some other teachers. I offered to play for any classroom teachers who wanted a visiting fiddler to come in for a few minutes and demonstrate some different ways of playing the fiddle. He smiled saying, "Oh, they'll love that."

We walked down to the office-end of the building to Mrs.Winters' classroom. She is one of the dual-language kindergarten team teachers. Mr. Huston introduced me and hurried off to take care of a student. I notice that this is the third "call" from teachers who need help with students. I turned my attention to Mrs. Winters and listened as she tells me why she decided to participate in my study.

Winters: My daughter just graduated from the University and told me I had to participate in this study, saying that it is so hard to get teachers to participate and that I just had to help.

Gilman: I appreciate your volunteering. I used to teach kindergarten and love being near kindergarteners. It's my favorite grade level to teach. (We both smiled.) I was wondering if you and some of the other teachers would like me to play my fiddle in your classroom at some time.

Winters: That would be lovely. I'm sure the others will appreciate having a visit from you, too. I just wanted to let you know that Mrs. Estuvaz, my partner teacher, would have volunteered to be in your study but this is her first year as a teacher and she is feeling very overwhelmed at having so much to learn in this first year. She would have joined, but is feeling it would be too much for her right now.

At that moment, Mrs. Estuvaz, the team partner of Mrs. Winters walked in where we were standing. Mrs. Winters introduced her to me. Mrs. Winters was tall, blond and slim. Her voice was soft and even. Mrs. Estuvaz spoke with a heavy Spanish accent and with more energy in her voice. She was petite, with long curling dark hair. She smiled warmly at me, but looked at me a little nervously. I told her I had brought my fiddle and asked if she would like me to play for her students at some point.

Estuvaz: Yes. That would be great. (She puts her hand on my arm.) You know I just can't be a part of your study. I really wanted to, but I am doing so much right now. This is my first year of teaching. Last year I was working with Silvia and Stephanie on their research project. I was a research assistant for them. I know how important research can be to teaching. You know what. I said I wouldn't be able to participate, but I am going to do it. You are just going to interview me and to observe my classes, right?

And so, my third teacher-participant, Mrs. Estuvaz, came to be a part of my study. I had three people I could observe and interview. The other teacher to volunteer, Miss Blanchard, was also a new teacher. Her special education classroom was across from Mrs. Winters' classroom.

Blanchard: I am happy to participate in your study. You are just going to come in and observe while I teach, right?

Gilman: Yes. And I will need to do a few interviews with you, too. I will also probably talk to you at certain points to make sure I understand what I see happening, but it won't interfere with your teaching or your work. I intend to be as unobtrusive as possible.

Fiddle Presentations

Blanchard's classroom was the first I fiddled in. She enthusiastically gathered the students together on their meeting rug and introduced me as someone who would be visiting. I explained what the fiddle was and how sound was made by the bow pulling the strings to vibrate. The students sat quietly with their eyes riveted to my demonstration.

Gilman: I am going to play a tune that is very old. It is older than I am. It is older than your grandparents. It is a tune my grandfather first played for me. You can raise your hand when I play if you know what the tune is. (I play, "Pop! Goes the Weasel." The students smile, rock back and forth to the music. Some put their hands in the air. I play through the song once then stop.) Do you think you know the tune?

Robert: It's the song that the toy, what's the thing called, it has a lid and it pops out?

Blanchard: A Jack-in-the-box?

Robert: Yeah! That's where the tune is from.

Blanchard: Yes, that's where you might have heard the song being played. Do you know the name of the tune? (No one knows the name, and they sit staring at us for the answer.)

Gilman: This was the first tune my grampa played for me, "Pop! Goes the Weasel!"

I play a few more tunes explaining how old they are and what country they came from. Then I say good-bye and thank them for letting me come and play. They ask me to come again sometime. Miss Blanchard and the three teaching assistants in the room also thank me and tell me some of their stories of playing music or having family who played music. Mrs. Blanchard and I will meet for our first interview that afternoon. Everyone is smiling. I have made some friends, and hopefully I will meet some other teachers willing to participate in my study.

I leave the classroom and walk towards the kindergarten classrooms where I repeat similar sessions to the students and teachers in those classrooms. I have the same kind of

experience in all of the classrooms that allow me to come play a 10-minute performance. The teachers enthusiastically thank me. The children listen attentively and then ask questions about the violin and music. When I leave the classrooms, I know that I have connected in an enjoyable way with students and teachers. I am building relationships with the Westview staff members.

Mrs. Taylor, the Parent Involvement and Volunteer Coordinator

At lunch time, I walk around the school with my fiddle case on my back, introducing myself and asking if anyone wanted me to visit and play for their students at some point in the next few days.

Huston: So, how is the fiddling going? You know, you might want to talk to Mrs. Taylor, our volunteer coordinator and parent involvement person. She chairs the committee for International Day. Let's see if she is in her office. I'll introduce you.

I am introduced to Mrs. Taylor, who invites me to sit down in her office and to tell her about what I was going to be doing at the school. I explain my study and also tell her that I need to find other teachers who will participate. I ask her if she would like to tell me about the parent involvement and volunteer programs.

Taylor: Oh, I don't know. (She grimaces, then smiles.) I can help you out, eventually. Mr. Huston and Mrs. Carpenter told me you are a fiddler. Would you think about participating in our International Day in April? You could come to our committee meetings. They're after school, and the coordinator from [a local store] is co-chairing the event. They donate money and workers and a dinner for everyone.

Gilman: Sure, I'll do what ever you need me to do. I think International Day will be a great addition to the study.

Another connection. My thoughts were that I needed to get to know people quickly so I could get more teachers to participate in the study. I was beginning to understand that a researcher had to build relationships with the people who would be instrumental in implementing

the research project. At this point, I had three teachers, Mrs. Winters, Miss Blachard and Mrs. Estuvaz, and two people who seemed supportive, Mr. Huston and Mrs. Taylor. I needed to get into more classrooms.

No Teacher Mentor

After school the afternoon I visited Mrs. Blanchard's classroom for a fiddling performance, I interviewed her. Susan Blanchard was a first-year teacher in her early twenties. She moved through her self-contained special education classroom with a spring in her step. Her enthusiasm for her work with her students and her teaching assistants was easily apparent. The caring she exhibited for her students and her teaching assistants and her enthusiasm for her job compensated for any instructional or content knowledge a first year teacher might be lacking. She seemed willing to learn. In the interview I asked her what kind of support she had in her first year of teaching. She told me she really had not had much support. She was working things out on her own. I thought of the individualization of lessons a special education teacher has to do and the fitting of her lesson content in with the grade level curriculum for each of her students, knowing it to be a time consuming and difficult task, especially without experience.

Gilman: Is there someone who you see here on a regular basis, a teacher or administrator who comes to talk to you about what you are doing? A teacher mentor or someone acting as a mentor?

Blanchard: No one meets with me. I'd like to have someone come in and let me know how I am doing. I don't know how I am doing. No one tells me what things are going well or what things are not going well. I worry that I might not be doing all I need to do for my students.

Gilman: Have you had any meetings with your principal or assistant principal where they come to your room and evaluate your teaching and then meet with you to discuss what happened during that observation? This might include having you set some goals for yourself and their input as to what kinds of things you might try or not use—do you remember doing something like this?

Blanchard: No one has come into my room for any length of time. Sure, I talk to my principal and assistant principal. They have told me I am doing a good job. And, well, there was one person who came to see me at the beginning of the year and she helped me set my room up and gave me some ideas, and it was great. But, I haven't seen her since the beginning of the year.

I wonder how Miss Blanchard can do her job if she does not have guidance from a seasoned teacher. It appears there is no mentoring program at Westview Elementary. This is something I need to look at during my study. If there is no mentoring program, how are new teachers supported? How are their teaching skills and knowledge honed? Where do they turn when they need a better understanding of a concept, a curriculum matter, or a concern about a student?

Mrs. Jones, The Lead Music Teacher

When I was not working in Mr. Huston's office, I walked through the hallways with my fiddle on my back. The music teacher, Mrs. Jones, came up and asked if I would come to her third grade classes and demonstrate the violin.

Jones: I am discussing the instruments found in orchestras and having you come in and explain the violin and play would be a wonderful experience for them.

Gilman: I would be very happy to. When would you like me to come?

Jones: I have three third grade classes. One is out at the other elementary school, and two here. It's Friday, so, maybe you could come next week?

So, I played my fiddle in Mrs. Jones' third grade classes. I gave a lesson on the stringed instruments, played Mrs. Jones' requested tune, *Peter's Theme* from Sergei Prokofiev's *Peter and the Wolf*, played several folk tunes and gave students a chance to play the violin.

There were three important things that happened directly because of this guest-playing. One was the beginning of a friendship with the music teacher, who became important in helping me understand Westview Elementary School and the community. She was a sounding board and

often pointed out events or history. It was also because of Mrs. Jones that I met Mr. Sellers, the principal at the other elementary school and the director for the district's curriculum and instruction. She invited me to drive out of town to the other elementary school, explaining how to find it. She explained that I could find Mr. Sellers there, as he spent most of his time working with the teachers, students and parents located there. So, one day soon after speaking to her, I drove out to the small, older brick school on my way home after visiting Westview.

The third thing Mrs. Jones did for me was to take me to various community events and introduce me to people and teachers in the school and the community. She was instrumental in getting the fifth grade dual-language team teacher, Mrs. Baldwin, to decide to become a participant in my study.

Mrs. Baldwin was one of the ESL classroom teachers involved in the first years of the dual-language program at Westview Elementary School. Some of her interview appears later in this chapter.

During lunch with Mrs. Jones, I told her that a teacher told me that there was no formal staff development at the school. She smiled at me.

> Jones: Back when the former director was here, we had more staff meetings, and there were classes we attended here at the school. The FLAP (Foreign Language Assistance Program) grant from the state paid for teachers to get ESL certification. I got mine then. I was one of the teachers who traveled to Mexico one year to study the culture and to use the Spanish language we learned in our classes. It was great. Quite a few of us went on that trip. But, there hasn't really been any staff development here since the former language director left. We have staff meetings, but they are for getting information to us and happen on the mornings after the school board meetings—they are not for staff development.

Mrs. Jones, a Westview teacher for over 30 years, had seen the many changes at the school.

> Gilman: I haven't seen anything that looks like staff development so far—I haven't heard anyone say there were workshops or seen anything on the calendars about training sessions—I know there must be something that has been done here, but I haven't seen it.

Jones: Sometimes we travel to other schools on professional development days to meet with other music teachers. I think some of the classroom teachers are taking courses from the area college, but we haven't had any kind of training here for a number of years.

Fieldstone Elementary School

My first visit to Fieldstone, the district's other elementary school, took place a few days before my guest performance in that school's third grade music class. Fieldstone Elementary School was located several miles out of Perkins on a narrow and crowned paved road. The houses along the road were mostly on lots of over an acre and were spaced a large distance from each other, typical of rural settings. I parked my truck across the road from the car and bus-filled, graveled parking lot and approached the school. Mr. Sellers waved from his office window. The lower-level doors opened to a landing with stairs to the lower level and to the top floor. There at the top of the stairs near the office door was Mr. Sellers. He welcomed me. I told him who I was and what I was planning on studying at Westview. We talked briefly about my research and I asked him if I could interview him about the curriculum and instruction of the district, but particularly at Westview. I also explained that I had been invited to play as a guest musician in Mrs. Jones' music class that following week. He said that it would be wonderful for the kids. He gave me a time to meet him the following week on the day I would be playing for the third graders. We said good-bye and I left for home.

Mr. Huston, Assistant Principal and Director of Language Acquisition

During my first 3 weeks of visits to Westview Elementary School, I used the office of Mr. Huston as home base. I wheeled my cart with my computer, my fiddle and my briefcase with my IRB permission slips, letters of introduction and my notepads into a space in the far corner of

the office and sat at the long table in the middle. There were booklets, papers of all kinds, books and other things in neat piles on top of the table and on top of many other surfaces. His desk, computer and phone were at the door of the room. There was another computer in the office on the east wall. Here an older Hispanic man sat translating materials for the Spanish-speaking students.

Mr. Huston was rarely in the room. When he did come in to work on paperwork, his walkie-talkie would be a constant interruption of the quiet space, rasping out that Mr. Huston was needed in such-and-such place to help with a child's behavior. He would answer the call and would quickly leave the room. He would return at some point, sit down and begin work again. A few minutes might pass and then a phone call from a parent or a teacher or one of the other administrators.

Teachers dropped in to ask him questions, give him information about a family or a child, or just to chat with him. He listened. He took care of problems. The office was a busy spot. I soon found another office that was much more quiet where I could slip in and out easily. In the three weeks I was based in his office, I saw that Mr. Huston was involved in many administrative duties, more than I expected to see for any one administrator. He was at the school before most arrived and left the school several hours after most people left. During my walks through the hallways, I would catch a glance of him zooming in and out of rooms, and I saw him no matter where it was I was observing. He was highly visible to everyone who worked there.

I did not see much of Mrs. Carpenter in the hallways. When I saw her it was usually in her office in discussions with staff members, or she was sitting in meetings: student staffing, School Improvement Committee, or curriculum committee. I could see that she was busy, but seldom in classrooms or hallways. When I asked her if we could meet to talk about things, she

did not answer me. If I met her in the hallways coming out of student assemblies, she would return my greetings, but would quickly walk away. The only e-mails of mine she answered were the ones in which I told her how nice and how wonderful the teachers were to me. I did not feel that she did not support my study, but it was clear that she did not wish to be interviewed. Later I heard that this was to be her last year as principal at Westview.

I had daily access to Mr. Huston, and generally would go to him if I needed clarification of information I had been given. This was another instance where I had to adjust my original design. If someone does not wish to participate in a study, you just have to find the information from another source. I did have Mr. Huston in the original design and as the assistant principal, he was able to help me understand those things I would have asked Mrs. Carpenter; however, it was a substantial loss not to have her perspective of what I was observing.

Mrs. Black, Former D-L Program Director

Although Mr. Huston was the district's Director of Language Acquisition, he was also the Assistant Principal of Westview Elementary School. His other duties did not allow him to give due attention to the dual-language program. The dual-language teachers did many of the things their former director, Mrs. Black, once did, things such as developing D-L teacher knowledge and skills. The D-L teachers themselves had to continue to justify to administrators and community members that what they were doing was beneficial.

Gilman: One thing that would be helpful to me is understanding how you came to be associated and then to work for Westview Elementary School. You told me that you were first a consultant out of the Prairie Regional Office. Who was it that asked you to go to the school? How did the progression from your being a consultant to one as a director for that D-L program go?

Black: In the winter of 2005, I wrote a strategic initiative to the State's Division of English Language Learners (ELLs) to get some of the State's Title III

> professional development money to provide a regional center for professional development for area schools. Many had low incidence of ELLs and were unable to access, or were unaware of, professional development at the Consolidated Resource Center. The strategic plan, initiated by the state for all areas and regions, including Perkins, was accepted by the State Board of Public Instruction. An Educational Representative was sent out to Regional Offices across the state, and all who applied and qualified received a small amount per office. Our office in Perkins became the administrative agent for a multi-school district consortium which decided to pool the money and hire me part time to reach out to schools enrolling English language learners for the first time in the rural areas. It was also for schools with increasing numbers of socio-culturally-linguistically diverse students. Perkins fell into the second camp. I reached out to Peter Huston, then Director of Migrant and Language Learners for Perkins' Schools. We had completed an English language proficiency assessment in Perkins in the Fall of 2005, at which time I learned that he was planning to step down from his position to go back into the classroom. He also told me of their efforts over preceding years to move toward a dual-language program. Seeing as my position with the state was only part-time, I decided to apply to be a part-time Director of Dual-Language and ELL Education in Perkins. Mr. Lugas, the superintendent, became director of the Migrant Student Education Program.
>
> Before I was officially hired by the school board, I told Mr. Lugas about the Foreign Language Assistance Program (FLAP) grant and I suggested to him that it would be a way to get funding for the D-L program. It would be focused both on teaching Spanish to English speakers and helping Spanish-speakers maintain their home language. So *all* students could experience the benefits of bilingualism and biliteracy. He hired me to write the grant and recommended me for hire to the school board. Officially I was a "consultant" charged with directing the Dual-Language Program and the ELL program in grades K-12.
>
> Through my position with the state, I was already scheduled to attend a Dual-Language workshop at which 10 people from Perkins had already registered. This ended up being a great gift of time in getting to know these key educators, and to formulate the goals and measurable outcomes for the grant application, as well as developing "bios" for all of the teachers and the principal, Mrs. Carpenter.

So Mrs. Black, an "outsider," came to be Director of the D-L program. I had heard from some of the Westview teachers that she had been thoroughly focused on seeing the D-L program run smoothly and had the resources to support the teachers. I had also heard that she was extremely

confident and committed to the program's goals and objectives. And, although she and the D-L teachers were on mostly friendly terms, she demanded certain skills and knowledge from them. I heard that Black had denied purchase of some books a general education teacher requested because the FLAP grant funds were specifically to be used for the D-L program. The teacher was not convinced. Some ill feeling toward the D-L program and Black persisted long after she left Perkins. I wondered how Black, being such a strong leader, got along with the long-time resident administrators.

Gilman: What was the nature of the working relationship you had with the principals, the teachers in the D-L program, the other Perkins' teachers, and with the school board and the superintendents?

Black: Initially, I worked very closely with Madeline Carpenter. Our first job was to save the dual-language program after the board's verdict that it be an entirely optional program. It seemed to me to pull the rug from under the D-L program. We did not have enough enrollment to begin the program. So with Peter and Madeline's help, we organized a list of people to contact, both English-speaking and Spanish-speaking, and asked the teachers to help by making phone calls and home visits to sign up students, K-2, to create at least two classes at each level. It's impossible to over-estimate the influence of long-time community members and teachers like Mrs. Winters and Mrs. Baldwin, and of course Peter, for the successful enrollment that first year. Madeline and I then worked to assign students to classes, balancing them out, etc. We had all attended the [Dual-Language conference and workshops] together, so we shared a pretty cohesive view of what we were doing.

The theory, though, was different from the reality, and English-only-speaking teachers, had Spanish-only speaking students for the first time to make-up half or more of their class! So early on, the kindergarten teachers did not adhere to the 50/50 model for English-speaking students, and the teachers continued to segregate the students for "native language arts." Even after three years, I failed to convince them that their English-speakers would be "OK," even if they only knew half of the English alphabet and more than half of the Spanish alphabet.

I became the "public face" of dual-language in Perkins. I attended rotary and other community group meetings, making presentations to the school board, and things like that. One thing that really worked well, was the emphasis on the fact that this was an enrichment program, like a talented

> and gifted program, where students would begin learning in two languages in kindergarten and would continue until at least 5th grade (at that time). And of course the fact that the program was entirely optional, though we did ask for a two or three year commitment from the parents enrolling their children.
>
> We faced a basic racism that was rampant in the community. Mr. Lugas dealt with that much more than I did. My role was to educate parents, both Spanish and English, about the benefits of bilingualism, and how unique this opportunity was for their kids.

I touch on the topic of racism only briefly in this dissertation. It is necessary to examine racism. Many of the school staff mentioned that the Perkins' racial relations were still strained throughout the community. Racism might be partly responsible for the D-L program losing strength. I chose not to go deeply into it. My study was about the on-going strength of the D-L program. I acknowledge the race issue but was not prepared to study it.

> Black: Relationships between the bilingual teachers and the English-only teachers were stressed long before I got there. The idea that "those kids" (the immigrant children) got special treatment (from the Federal Migrant funded after-school programs and Summer School for Migrant Children) when "true citizens" of Perkins did not was simply intolerable to many people. So as is typical, the Transitional Bilingual Education program looked inward, particularly the teachers at Middle School and High School. There were rumors that ELL students were purposefully failing their language tests to be able to stay in the program. Of course, I was the new enemy when I suggested we schedule ELLs into every homeroom to facilitate the integration of the ELLs into the greater school community. Attempts to get a soccer team together failed because of an oppressive grading system that practically ensured the ELLs would fail many of their classes and therefore be ineligible to play sports.

Several other interviewees, teachers, Mr. Huston and Mrs. Davis, had mentioned ill feelings among community members, especially from long-time residents of Perkins having a difficult time caring for their children, dental, medical, and tutoring for better knowledge and skills. Some expressed frustration to teachers about not getting the same treatment for White children when they were just as needy. The students were mindful as to who were being excluded. I asked

Black about the notifications from the State and she referred me to former principal, Mrs. Davis. I then asked her to explain the relationship Westview had with the local college.

> Black: The college began a long relationship with the district, offering the Masters Degree in the ESL program, tuition-free for the first dual-language teachers, to get Bilingual and/or ESL certification. (Among them were Mrs. Baldwin, Mrs. Jones, and Mr. Huston.) The Foundations of Bilingual Education course at [the college] would have informed them about State requirements for a TBE program as soon as the number of students reached 20 in any school.

The college and Westview's relationship was one of the puzzle pieces I wanted to understand. I also wanted to understand how much voice the teachers were given in developing their knowledge and skills and the characteristics of the D-L Program.

> Gilman: Who decided what workshops or what teacher inservice was going to be given to the teachers? Did the teachers have any voice in the decision-making? The teachers told me they met at the Regional Center and created many of the materials and lessons for their program. Did they do their own inquiries or did someone "guide" them? Who?
>
> Black: We guided each other through the curriculum development with the help of the Center's Dual-Language program information. We quickly learned by trial and error that it would not be possible to teach everything twice, so this is where the partnership between the English instructing and Spanish instructing teachers became very important. In the second or third year, we, Madeline Carpenter and I, revamped the master schedule for common planning periods for each grade level. [The dual-language teachers at the various grade levels met together.] I met with each team more or less weekly; they were to meet with their teaching partner(s) at least weekly. Of course, duty schedules were still burdensome, and the D-L teachers had to work many hours more each week to make sure the Spanish and English instruction was coordinated and standards-based. We worked the entire second year to get standards-based report cards in place for the D-L classrooms. We were allowed to "pilot" [the report cards] the third year. By then, communication [between Madeline and myself] was very difficult. She did not support standards-based grading. I'm not surprised the school "did away" with it [this year].

I had mentioned to her that the teachers had met during grade level planning times to discuss creating new report cards. I heard that a few general education teachers had dismissed the report

cards without discussion, not acknowledging the work of the dual-language teachers. There was still grade level common planning time, however, during the sixth day grade level meetings. Discussions were minimal, mostly dissemination of notices from the district and school office and for planning grade level activities such as field trips. At some point, Carpenter and Black began to disagree about policy and the program.

> Gilman: The dual-language program operated as a "school-within-a school" or an enrichment program because the school board would not allow the operation to be school-wide. Can you speak a little about this?
>
> Black: The school board required the program be an option and that a viable "English-only" option also be offered. Administrators also decided that Special Education (SPED) native-English speakers "could not handle" dual-language, so the English-only (General Education) classes were filled with all of the special ed kids, including some French-speaking special ed kids. This decision was a most sad one for me. The decision was made from ignorance. Even though we had research showing they would achieve just as much in Spanish as they could in English and that knowing two languages did not hurt their progress, there was nothing I could do about it. Shortly then, English-speaking parents became aware of the fact, and that if they did not put their children in the D-L program, the children would be in a classroom heavily populated with special ed students. This resulted in several families participating who weren't committed and, to some degree, basically undermined the program.

I had heard comments from some Westview staff members that implied that it was not a well-balanced group of students in the General Education classrooms. A few said that families more economically privileged enrolled their students in the D-L program leaving to the General Education classes for the students with special needs and ones coming from less economically fortunate situations. Now, I understand from Black that the special education students were also mainstreamed into General Education classrooms. This imbalance of student needs must have been frustrating for those classroom teachers. I can understand why the tension between the D-L teachers and the General Education teachers and parents.

Gilman: There were other "directors" before you came into the picture. What were some of the things you did differently from those who came before you?

Black: I don't really know what the directors before me were like. I know at the high school, the program, in my opinion was too self-contained, resulting in segregation and animosity between Spanish- and English- speaking students. The migrant recruiter was quite an activist on behalf of the students, the Spanish speakers, and seemed to [ignite] some problems—though he was certainly an important advocate in a very difficult situation. There was a student walk out the spring before I came, on Mexican Independence Day. These kinds of pressures are partly what caused the teachers, especially at the elementary level, to look for a different program model, because the long-term TBE program wasn't working well for students or for the community. Mr. Huston at the time, did not have administrative certification, so the principals did not offer deference to his expertise. Even Mrs. Davis was not supportive of integrating the students at the beginning, from what I was told. Perhaps my credentials and knowledge of the research regarding second language acquisition and foreign language education gave me a "leg-up" in convincing people on the fence. There was of course, no changing the minds of nay-sayers. I tried, investing a lot of time and energy in it, but it wasn't going anywhere.

Black's perception of the history of the program corresponds with what others have told me. There were difficulties in convincing school members that a dual-language program would be best for the students and the community. Black saw her background as a State consultant for ESL and Bilingual issues as giving her footing in the district and community. The principals dismissed Mr. Huston and listened to her expertise. Mr. Huston had good knowledge about dual-language programs, as did some of the other teachers who were hired into the program later, but it was Mrs. Black who was able to get the administrators to listen to arguments for a dual-language program. She did not single-handedly create the program, the D-L teachers, including Mr. Huston, and the principal at the time, Mrs. Carpenter, all had a hand in the program created 10 years earlier.

Gilman: What were some of the most difficult challenges you faced as first, the consultant and then as the director of the D-L program?

> Black: Certainly things worked much better when Madeline and I were working together and promoted a unified front to the staff. Obviously when we got the FLAP grant, things went easier for awhile—though the same old complaint—which I believe is common in underfunded schools—the scarcity of supplies and professional development opportunities for non-D-L teachers, for example, led to a lot of resentment—though I think this was over-stated. Many of the English-only teachers attended conferences, too, and all were paid more for getting further education.

Again Black mentions a strain between herself and the principal. She also mentions that the school district was relatively underfunded.

> Black: I could never figure out what was so hard to understand about the fact that federal money had to be spent on the program it was granted for—the fact that *anyone* who wanted to, except SPED kids, could choose to be in dual-language, unless they were too old—the funds had to be used to support the program we described in our application and could *not* be used to supplant district funds required to be spent for all students. What people also didn't seem to understand was that TBE and Migrant funds *had* to be spent on those programs. If it wasn't—the funding would disappear altogether. I'm sure it's much better now than it was—where the staff after all this time have hopefully learned to accept the fact that *all* kids are theirs—and that extra resources are there to help SPED, ELL, and Title I qualifying students that aren't there for others.

Discussions with the initial and early D-L program teachers, and two of the general education teachers who were working at Westview during the early D-L program days, as well as discussions with the former principal, Mrs. Davis, confirmed key parts of the information given me by Mrs. Black.

From Black's answers I saw that the program had had rough beginnings, but that during her time in the Perkins School District, there had been strong leadership and support for the D-L program from Mrs. Carpenter, Mr. Lugas, and from herself as director of the program. There had been extensive involvement in the development of the initial program from the D-L teachers. The teachers added strength through their skills and knowledge of learning and teaching and of the special attributes of biliteracy (and multiliteracy). At one time. the dual-language program

was strong. The features that made it strong included funding resources, staff development, and leadership: the director, the D-L teachers, the principal, the superintendent. There was very little mention of State requirements by Black. This might be because she and the others saw what they were doing corresponded with State standards. It could have also been because Black left the program before Westview received Academic Warning Status. It is clear that the program had been stronger in earlier times.

Mr. Sellers, Director of Curriculum and Instruction

My interview with Mr. Sellers took place on the afternoon I visited Fieldstone Elementary. Mr. Sellers came in to listen to my fiddling for the music class. He stayed until the end. When finished, I headed up to his office. He greeted me and thanked me. I began by asking about his teaching and administrative experience.

Sellers: This is my first year as a principal here, but sixth as a building administrator and 17th year in education. I was a teacher mostly at the middle school level, mainly social studies and language arts

The school district for most of his teaching was similar to the Perkins district, an agricultural community mostly populated by Whites, but quite a few Mexican immigrants who had moved there in the mid-seventies.

Sellers: It was interesting. We had what we called second and third generation families, who were now parents and grandparents. But you would get people moving in from south Texas and Mexico, first generation, with no English spoken in the household. When I left in 2009, 50% of the elementary students were Hispanic.

Gilman: Do you see differences in the way Hispanic students are taught here and there?

Sellers: Well, there is the dual-language program here, different in that half of the instruction is in English, the other half in Spanish. Obviously, in both districts, the language barrier is a challenge, especially in terms of high-

stakes testing. But that's one of the challenges for a diverse district. What's interesting about Perkins is that in addition to its Hispanic students, are the French Africans. As Superintendent Johnson said, last year we became a minority district. Less than 50% of our students now are Caucasian. The challenge from the French Africans is something we have to be cognizant of.

Gilman: I noticed you have some African immigrant students here at your school.

Sellers: A young boy in the class you just played your fiddle for is from Africa.

Gilman: Yes, he came up and said, "I'm from Africa!" I asked him from which country. He said he didn't know.

Sellers: On Lincoln's birthday weekend, Springfield had a swearing in of the new citizens. His father was one them. There was an article on the front page of the newspaper. They had not seen it.

Sellers: Many of our population are transients. We have more here than in the last district I worked in. In addition to the diversity, there's a higher percentage of poverty here than in the last district, a challenge.

Gilman: Mrs. Carpenter mentioned that you were also the district's curriculum director.

Sellers: Yeah, a position I have not held before, other than the curriculum directing you do as a principal. This isn't my first rodeo in terms of curriculum.

Gilman: Well, I know how tough it is with all the policies coming down from the state and federal governments. Can you tell me some of the concerns you have for this district?

Mr. Sellers: Ok, well, like you say, some big initiatives are coming down. Obviously, the biggest has been "No Child Left Behind" and making the AYP. We are never going to have 100%, every single student, at grade level, certainly not by 2014. Some have said that the NCLB was, the big domestic policy of the Bush administration. It was heavily supported by the School of Choice folks. The idea was that none of the public schools would be successful. Then these people could say that they have thrown billions of dollars into failing schools. That would give them the evidence to take away money from public schools and give it to charter schools and home schooling. Obviously, this is an opinion.

Gilman: Do you feel it has some credence?

Sellers: What I will say is that over the last several years, we have gotten serious about every student making forward progress. When I was in school, you

were able to teach whatever you wanted. Suppose you and I were teaching social studies in classrooms right next to each other. I like castles. When we do medieval Europe, I'm gonna do a big unit on castles, how they fit into the feudal system, and so forth. But you're interested in something else. And you're going to put more emphasis on that. So, no continuity. Even where were standards or quidelines, most classrooms were allowed such levels of autonomy. There was no consistency. I think we've gotten much more serious that there needs to be consistent standards and we need to teach the same things.

Gilman: Are you talking about "core curriculum"?

Sellers: Yes. We've gotten away from that view. We have also gotten away from the mindset that, "Well, I've taught my lesson, I've gone through the unit. I've done what I was supposed to and these kids didn't get it. They've failed. We're moving on. What can I do? Well, kids fail. And whose fault is that? The kid has to take some responsibility, at some point, for his success. I think the paradigm has shifted, not entirely, that the teacher's job is not simply to teach but to take responsibility for student learning. And that is a valuable tool. With positive behavior intervention and support, we look at every student. We don't simply say, "Well, I've done what I can. If the kid didn't get it, it's not my fault."

Standardization in Perkins schools. Mr. Sellers had expressed support for standardizing the curriculum. Two teachers teaching the same subject should not veer from the "core curriculum." All students should cover the same content. I wondered how the content would be delivered.

Gilman: How do you as a principal make teachers accountable for the learning in their classrooms?

Sellers: I think the most important game the principal plays is the expectation game. This is the expectation, this is the vision of our school. And I'm going to hold you, the teacher, accountable for what goes on in your classroom. As recently as two years ago, there were still teachers who didn't feel it was their responsibility to make every student successful.

Gilman: When you say, "make every student successful," what do you mean?

Sellers: I was in a high school meeting with my staff and we were talking about responsive intervention at the secondary level. What are we doing at this level to assist?. I remember teachers, their hands up, saying, "Are you telling us the kids can't fail?" Well, I'm not telling you that the kids can't

> fail, but the question we have to ask ourselves is: "If you have a student in your class who is not turning in homework, who is failing test after test after test, what are you doing to assist that child?" Are you looking at how many students are failing your class? Are you remediating? If 50% of your students aren't getting the material, and failing your tests, and failing your quizzes, and not doing well, is that a student problem? Or is that a curriculum problem? Is it a teaching methods issue?

Sellers' answers help explain what the teachers at Westview Elementary are being asked to do, in terms of following a given curriculum, remediation, and Response to Intervention (RtI). He still was not explaining how he and the district define a "successful student." He was balancing two ideals, standardization of the curriculum and being responsive to the students. He said that when the student is failing the tests, the homework, the assignments of a class or of a core area of study, such as social studies or science, the teacher then needs to remediate that student. Responsiveness to many teachers in the dual-language program will mean more than setting core performance standards. Mr. Sellers said that students are successful if they pass the tests, do the homework and complete their assignments for the teachers, but I wanted a more explicit answer about how a student is determined a successful.

Gilman: What part does curriculum play in this?

Sellers: Obviously, we are held accountable for AYP and the core curriculum. Part of that is going back and looking at lesson plans, developing unit plans that are aligned with the curriculum. For the last several years, the focus of school improvement day planning has been aligning the curriculum, developing curriculum maps so that every single classroom in all the sophomore algebra classes, all the freshman level, all the grade level geometry classes, that they're all teaching the same thing. If I have six teachers or one teacher at a particular building, they are all on the same page. The teachers are planning together, and they're hitting the same concepts because at some point in the junior level year, these concepts will be on the state achievement test. So we are helping our kids be successful. Are we teaching to the test? To some degree.

Mr. Sellers said that the "successful student" is able to pass the state exam. But other things he said made me wonder if he believes that standardization of the curriculum is viable in

terms of what students bring to the table, their prior knowledge, life experiences, their social, cultural and language backgrounds, and learning styles.

Gilman: Let me pose a scenario. A fifth grade math teacher complained that the other fifth grade teachers had passed him by three lessons. He said, "The kids are taking too long to learn the algebra lesson. I have to teach this concept, make sure they have it before I go on to the next lesson. But I am being told that I have to move on." How would you respond to that teacher?

Sellers: How do we strike a balance? What I like about the common core standards is that they are deeper, with fewer concepts but deeper understandings. Less focus on sheer number and more on mastery of those concepts. That I think is a plus. And like I said, we are at an interesting point in education where we have common core standards, we have new evaluation instruments coming on board, and a new approach to tenure and seniority and the like. Perkins is still a hodge-podge of "you do this, I like this." Like when I was talking about "castles." We still see that. We probably have three reading series, if not more, in use. On Friday, we have our last curriculum analysis committee meeting. We have been meeting for the last several months to analyze the elementary reading curriculum. We're going to adopt an all-new reading series for the entire district. Every grade level, K-5 will have this new curriculum, and the 6-12 grade levels have adopted a new language curriculum for next year. We're not going to have any splintering of skills.

Gilman: How will you handle individualization of instruction and learning? For instance, student interest or child-centered learning. How will this be addressed?

Sellers: Well, there's always room for that. I think we want to make sure that every student has access to that core curriculum. First grade will build upon kindergarten, second grade upon first grade, and so forth. And as we work through this process, less remediation is involved.

Mrs. Sellers seems to be saying that by everyone teaching the same curriculum at grade level, it will ensure that all the students move ahead on some kind of similar level of skill and knowledge. His answer does not exhibit concepts of the developmentalist perspective. The socially-culturally-linguistically responsive perspective that I have found in dual-language teaching and learning, has developmentalist leanings. If this view of standardization is of the district administrators and the policies they are giving to the district teachers, how socially-

culturally-linguistically responsive can the teachers be in their interpretations of those policies and of the curriculum they are told to use?

Sellers: There is a fantastic teacher on the other side of this wall (he points to the west wall of his office). She had students who came to her from kindergarten not knowing their alphabet. Something that would seem basic. So, she took a lot of time remediating a lot of mostly needy kids. She's an extremely successful teacher because she's an excellent teacher, and she's done some very positive RtI intervention where a lot of her students have now moved to where they should be. We talk about if we could get every student in kindergarten on the same page so that when they come to us in first grade we could go much further.

I wondered if Mr. Sellers had much experience with early childhood and developmental education. And I wondered how much the "developmentally appropriate" curriculum and instruction would have to yield to standardization and the core curriculum. We continued to discuss the new reading series. I ask him if either of the reading series use guided reading as part of the curriculum. He tells me that both series have leveled readers as a part of the program. As of then, I had not observed any leveled reading material. I asked if the teachers had the skills and background to implement guided reading.

Sellers: Well, this is one of the things we are needing to do, and with one of the reading series we will get some coaching for the teachers.

Gilman: They'll learn how to do guided reading?

Sellers: Well, not so much that, we have another person coming in to help us with that from the Regional Office.

Gilman: One of the teachers told me she leveled her students. I asked her how she did this. She told me she had no idea how to do it. So, there's a bit of a—.

Sellers: Some training issues. Staff development is a component of this process, too. We have to ask which of the reading series companies are going to give us quality professional development.

Gilman: Are the teachers important in deciding what reading series you will use?

Sellers: I am a big believer in collaborative decision-making. Literally, this is where the rubber hits the road. The teachers have to live with this for a

very long time. We will be committed to this series for at least eight to ten years.

Gilman: What are some of the issues teachers are bringing up about the new curriculum?

Sellers: Really, the main concerns are, and the ones that I think we've addressed are, that everyone's on the same page. Another concern is that some teachers will not like the new curriculum and go back to their old stuff and use it. One of the things we have talked about is going into the classroom and pulling out all of the old material at the end of the school year. It's not going to be accessible to the staff.

Gilman: Teaching the new series takes more time to implement than older reading series did. Has anyone brought this up?

Sellers: Yes. But it will pay us dividends to do it. We are dedicated to using the curriculum and to having a ninety-minute period of time devoted to literacy. Doing first, second and third tier instruction and getting the students all the help they need. It's going to be a trial and error process, and we are bound to run into some challenges. But it will be for the better.

This one early conversation gave me a better understanding of the curriculum policies the teachers deal with. Mr. Sellers did not elaborate on how the curriculum was to be "delivered" to the students. I am left wondering about the possible contention between teaching styles located in the two perspectives, social-cultural-linguistically responsive and standardization responsive teaching and learning. This will be something to pay attention to as I continue my study.

Title One

Federal Title One programs were initially focused on remedial language, in particular reading, for targeted low-performing students. Many Title One programs remain remedial in their approach, as is the case with Westview Elementary's Title One program. Although at certain times in the Title One schedule, teaching assistants traveled to particular classrooms to assist classroom teachers in the co-teaching of reading skills, most of their instruction dealt with the time-honored parts of reading: phonics, vocabulary, fluency, and comprehension. It was

implemented in a "pull-out" manner, where the students scoring below the acceptable grade level scores on State tests and AIMS assessments were taken from their regular classroom activities and given instruction in small-group or one-on-one situations. These students had individualized instructional plans; strict recordings of their progress in reading were kept. These lessons were labeled "second- and third-tier" reading instruction. The Title One program serviced the entire school, and to some degree fit the criteria found on the D-L features list (Cloud et al., 2000) as in point two, "Effective programs have high standards and have teachers who believe all students can achieve academic success," and point eight, they "are integrated with other school programs." Central to the foundation of Title One programs was the component of parent involvement, meeting the list's point one, "Parent involvement is integral to program success." Parents have to give permission for their children to enroll in the Title One program. They, the child's teacher, and the child sign a pact, saying they will support the efforts of Title One to work on those reading skills their child needs to become "academically successful." The grouping and instruction of students in Westview's Title One program was in line with assimilation and standardization. The interventions implemented were first to bring lower scoring readers of the dominant language, English, into higher scoring levels.

> The line of 20 or so students snaked slowly down the hallway, a teaching assistant in the lead, another walking along side and still another taking up the end. They were on the way to the former library, now the Title One classroom at Westview. The students streamed in, first three then six then 12, as the teaching assistants passed their classrooms on the scheduled rounds. Like trains, the pick-up and drop-off lines ran on a regular schedule to the 35- to 45-minute "Tier-two" and "Tier-three" reading lessons and interventions. There was a rhythm to the procedure that the teaching assistants and students seemed unaware of—a repeating ballet each day at specified times.
>
> There might be anywhere from one to eight students leaving the classroom for the Title One session at one time, but the classroom teachers continued their lessons and the other students paid little attention to the movement of their classmates. Occasionally a student forgot, and another student reminded him or her that they were supposed to go to Title One. A session without the line began before school hours, from 7:45 a.m. to 8:30 a.m.—

a third tier, third through fifth grade group of students, dropped off by their parents before school began to take advantage of the Title One teacher's extra help and support.

Cartwright: There just isn't enough time to get to all the students needing help during the school day

Gilman: What about parent support for the early morning session?

Cartwright: The parents are very supportive. They want their children to do well and so have been supportive of our efforts to give them that help. All the students involved in Title One have to sign compacts saying they will work diligently in our program to gain the necessary skills and knowledge and to do all they can to develop as successful students. The parents, teachers and the Title One teachers also have to sign the compacts. So, everyone knows what we need to do. Coming to early morning sessions is just part of the agreement. We have to fit everyone into the schedule.

She points to the Title One schedule posted on the back of one of the room divider bookcases.

7:45–8:30	Tier 3–Interventions, 3rd–5th grades
8:40–9:15	3rd grade Interventions
9:20–9:55	2nd grade Interventions
10:00–10:35	1st grade interventions
10:40–11:10	Tier 3—1st grade
11:10–11:40	LUNCH
11:40–12:10	Tier 3–2nd grade
12:10–12:35	Tier 3–2nd grade
12:40–1:15	Kindergarten Interventions
1:20–1:55	4th grade Interventions
2:00–2:35	5th grade Interventions

Mrs. Cartwright and Mrs. Fleck head the Title one program, creating lessons and individualized lesson plans for each of the 127 students participating in the program. Both were veteran classroom teachers before moving into Title One positions, and both became well-versed in various reading curriculum, language assessments and reading/language theories. They kept the Title One room reading materials well-organized on the bookshelves that line and divide the work station spaces in the approximately 30'x 45' foot room. One back corner of the room had a door to the side hallway, used by the fifth grade special education teacher for her class sessions. The front hallway double doors open into an approximately 10'x 30' space where the three

teaching assistants and one clerk had their desk spaces. In this front entry space was a copier that all the Westview teachers were able to use, a refrigerator for the Title One staff and the teachers located at the southwest end of the school, as well as more teaching materials stored on dividing bookshelves. The larger space on the other side of the bookshelf-wall, had six teacher workstations; half-circle tables with enough student chairs around each to accommodate five students. Each of the tables had a portable whiteboard and/or chart stand. These workstations had enough space for each teacher or teaching assistant to work quietly with their students. Behind one of the instructional stations were two long tables, each with four computer stations. The only time I observed the two teachers near their desks was when I first entered the room at 7:35 a.m They were not seated, just gathering their lesson plans and teaching materials for the morning sessions. Most of the day they spent with students at individual workstations. When the teaching assistants were not working with students, they were preparing lesson materials, guiding their pick-up and drop-off lines or were helping with reading instruction in the classrooms in a Title One inclusion teacher capacity.

Every student enrolled in Westview Elementary was assessed by their homeroom teachers using AIMSweb reading and mathematics assessments, administered by hand to individual students or small groups, depending on the assessment. The scores were entered into the AIMSweb website for data storage, analysis, and report generation. Pearson, the company owning AIMSweb, marketed their assessment system as a "computer-based benchmark testing system customized to each state" and stated that they provide "curriculum-based measures." Such claims contribute to the mindset that the curriculum is a state property rather than a teacher property.

Two More Participants

In the second week of observations, I was standing in the hallway, having just played for a third grade music class, waiting for Mrs. Taylor to finish a meeting so that I could speak with her about the International Day event.

A young male teacher guided his class in the hallway taking a restroom break. He was limping. I asked him how he had hurt himself. He told me he had been playing soccer with his students at their recess and had tripped, pulling a tendon in his foot. He was friendly. I asked him his grade. He told me he was one of the general education classroom teachers, fifth grade.

Gilman: Oh, great! You are just the person I need to speak with! I noticed you have African immigrant students in your class. I am doing a case study of the school and I need to be able to observe classrooms where there are African immigrant students. I believe that Mr. Huston gave all the teachers an information letter about the study.

Patton: Yes. I would be happy to participate.

We made arrangements to meet after school the next day. With his agreement to participate, I now had a novice special education teacher, a novice dual-language team teacher, and a veteran dual-language team teacher . I still needed a dual-language "stand-alone" teacher for my observation of the three different classroom settings of the school. I realized these teachers would not represent the program as a whole but I would have to fill in other information as I went along.

The morning after I talked to Mr. Patton, I was standing by the front office observing the morning activity. I noticed a young boy pointing at me and pulling the arm of what appeared to be his mother. It was Mrs. Martinez. She looked at me, still talking with the boy, and then they walked over to me.

Martinez: I just wanted to tell you that Jordan could not stop talking about you at dinner last night. He was completely spellbound and was reciting every bit of information to my husband and I about what you had told his third

> grade class. He said he played the violin and told us about the bow hairs, strings, and I just wanted to thank you for giving his class such a great experience.

I introduced myself and told her I was doing a case study of the school. She told me to stop by and visit her at some time that day. She had to get her class from the cafeteria area. Later that day, I visited her room. She was alone. Her students were at their specials class. I introduced myself again, told her a little bit about the study I wanted to do and asked her if she would participate,

> Martinez: Yes! It sounds so very interesting. You are welcome to come and observe any time.

She signed the permission slip and we made arrangements to begin my observations in her classroom. I now had a dual-language "stand alone" classroom to observe.

Even with Mrs. Martinez and Mr. Patton, initial access was minimal perhaps because I put such emphasis on the formality of participation. With months ahead at the school, I still stood a good chance of adding teachers to the mix. As the parent permission slips came back to the teachers, I began my observations. The next chapter is composed of observations and interviews pertinent to curricular and instructional decisions made by administrators and teachers and the teaching and learning activities I observed at Westview Elementary and in the school district. It was already apparent that the presence and ownership of the Westview dual-language program were indistinct. It seemed like it might be that there was no more program than the activities of individual and pairs of teachers. How it had changed in the past decade was going to depend largely on a small number of recollections.

Chapter 5

Westview Educators at Work

In the previous chapter, the emphasis was on gaining access and early experience with the dual-language program at Westview Elementary School. In this chapter are observations of the teaching and learning activities and interviews with teachers and administrators focused on what was being taught and how instruction was being implemented. A developing portrayal here is the dual-language program as seen by teachers involved in the initial program, by a former principal, who helped spear-head the implementation, and by the former director, who wrote and administered the Foreign Language Assistance Project (FLAP) grant. The program 10 years later is portrayed in detailed description of the teaching in classroom contexts. The case method used here calls for detail in a small number of sites and episodes, leaving many interpretive findings to longer experience of the researcher, as conceptualized in the next chapter. In writing this chapter I kept my main research question in the forefront, "What happened to the teacher-initiated, college-supported dual-language program in this culturally diverse rural community?"

Interview Meeting With the Two Professors

In the second week of my research study, I traveled to the college to talk to the two professors, Stephanie Pullman and Silvia DePalma, who had been instrumental in the professional staff development dual-language program. We talked just over an hour. They gave me a picture of the intended progression of the School from monocultural society to multicultural society:

> Pullman: The teachers were struggling with non-English speaking kids and didn't have a program. There was a school counselor who was multi-lingual and just loved languages. Some of the teachers wanted to learn Spanish to be

able to work with their students in better ways. Some of the teachers did not want Spanish children in their classrooms.

DePalma: In the beginning, most of the teachers were receiving the students very positively. It's when you have so many of these students that you have to move from the regular, basic education classrooms to move into ESL and then from Transitional Bilingual Education that the shuffling around began.

Pullman: What complicated the situation was that the state board of education people came into the school to monitor the situation. They were telling seasoned teachers that they were not doing things right in their classrooms. They made people take ESL endorsement classes. This angered teachers. And then there was the summer immigrant program, which made a lot of people in the community angry. They asked why the immigrant children were getting summer school and not the other children (the White children of long-time residents). There were dentists who came in and fixed immigrant childrens' teeth and again the long-time community members asked why their children couldn't have their teeth fixed. Really, the majority of Perkins' people were economically deprived. So there was an "us and them" dynamic there.

DePalma: Then there were efforts to get money and the teachers were polarized. Polarized. Whenever a newcomer overtakes the people who were there before, there is resentment.

DePalma: We haven't seen the school a lot this past year. I feel that some teachers are saying, "Well, what do we do with the French speakers?" There are people who are trying to find fault with the program in every way. It's not an ideal situation (having a Spanish-English dual-language program), but creating solutions for these issues is a gradual process. But, you shouldn't discard what you already have created. No, we have to find other solutions. So, you have this core group of people who are trying to teach in socially-culturally-linguistically responsive ways. But they have lived the dual-language situation. It is under their skin, a part of them. And so their motivation to keep their dual-language program is deep.

Gilman: The school has been hiring new teachers, several without ESL endorsements.

DePalma: Yes, and so the program may not be as strong. They haven't been through the transition. They have no idea of what it was like before the dual-language program.

The professors invested much in creating Westview Elementary's dual-language program. When I expressed interest in implementing a study of the teachers, they said they

wanted to protect them., They told me that the FLAP Grant had ended, and the Title Three grant that the two of them had received had ended, and since no other funding had been found, the relationship had become more traditional. Any staff development was only being done by them when the teachers attended one of their college courses.

The relationships the two professors created with the initiating teachers had continued, but they were not as close as before. They were no longer in close partnership with the school, but kept friendships with the teachers they had worked with there. A few of the school's teachers were taking their ESL endorsement classes. However, they said that special "Professional Development School-like" relationship no longer existed.

Mrs. Martinez, Fifth Grade, Dual-Language Stand-Alone Classroom

Midway down Westview's east-west hallway, next to the open lunchroom, is Mrs. Martinez's dual-language classroom. The room's blue, wooden door is recessed from the hallway. It bangs open and closed as people pass through, even when they are careful. The window of the door is high, not easily accessible to those passing on their way to art, music, and Title One classrooms and to gymnasiums and lunchrooms. There is an atmosphere of isolation. The hallway has traffic, with the lunchroom nearby, but the noise is little heard in the classroom even with the door open. One wall facing the door has a brightly colored mural of stylized earth, stars and swirling winds. A shelf runs the entire wall under the whiteboard. The students have cubbies here. Here also are two computers for student use during activities such as AR testing or information search. Daily, Mrs. Martinez demonstrates aspects of planet sustainability and has a recycling bin for plastic and paper under the shelf. There are windows on the north wall have air conditioning units installed.

In one corner are bookshelves for Martinez/ professional books. Nearby is a round table for reading materials for students. Pillows and an area rug define this space as a reading center. Next is her personal computer, then a round worktable where she works with students. An Elmo here can project on either a white screen or the wall. The west wall has an older green chalkboard and bulletin board, the latter with various reminders, schedules and papers that Mrs. Martinez needs to keep in sight. A teacher's desk is just beyond this working space, where piles of various books and papers have been stacked. I never observed Mrs. Martinez sitting at this desk; her preference seemed to be the round worktable. Generally, when instructing in whole group manner, she moved about the room, stopping to speak with an individual student. Textbooks for the class were kept on a library rolling book cart, usually parked near the coat closet.

One thing that set Mrs. Martinez's classroom apart from others at Westview was that the students sit at round tables during the school day, not at individual desks. The tables sit five or six students each. Individual students needing isolation sit either with Mrs. Martinez or at a table near the teacher's desk. The floor was tiled and echoed shuffling and conversation. Mrs. Martinez's room was small for an elementary school. Having the round tables instead of individual desks gave the students more space to move, and encouraged collaborative activities.

The dual-language program at Westview Elementary was a two-way immersion model as described earlier, half in English, half in Spanish. In the lower grade levels, the language learning, like reading and writing, were implemented in the students' native language. Mathematics and some other subjects there were taught half and half. In the upper levels, half of the time, content was taught in English and half of the time, in Spanish. Students in the upper grade levels were expected to write, read, hold conversations and work in both English and

Spanish. Mrs. Martinez was one of the school's "stand-alone" dual-language classrooms. Her students stayed with her the entire day for instruction except to attend art, music, physical education and lunch sessions. Others of Mrs. Martinez's fifth grade teaching peers had departmentalized their instruction, for example, one teaching the social studies for both classes and the other teaching science.

A math lesson is about to begin. English is the language. Some of the newer Spanish-as-their-first-language students get help by Mrs. Martinez and bilingual classmates. In writing and social studies, the lessons might be in English one day and in Spanish the next. Mrs. Martinez is fluent in both languages and often "code switches" from one to the other. Some of the newer students switch often. Students who have been in the program since kindergarten explain directions to the newer students in complete sentences.

I was in the room as the students came in. The exchange among students was friendly, in both languages. One young White boy, Jimmy, is taller and carries several pounds more than the other boys and girls, and is especially jocular. He kids with some boys about their soccer skills. A Hispanic boy, Tomás, quips back, "I may not kick the ball as far, but I can run faster to get it to the goal!" The teasing is comfortable, not aggressive. It is teasing that happens among people you know and respect.

Martinez: Bernice, I believe it's your turn to lead the class. Did you want to do that today?

Bernice, quietly and somewhat shyly, shakes her head "no" and looks down at her textbook.

Martinez: Okay, that's quite all right. It's strictly voluntary. How about (checking her student list) Joanna—Joanna, would you like to lead the activity?

Joanna: Sure!

Joanna jumps up, pushes her chair back and walks energetically to the computer where a jar with the tongue depressors are kept, each tongue depressor having a number assigned to each student inscribed on it.

Martinez: Please read the entire problem out loud before answering it. We need to hear the problem. Remember, you can say, "pass," if you do not wish to answer a problem, that's our rule.

A piece of paper and a pencil sit on the table in front of each student. The students begin the Saxon Math textbook "warm-up" or review that uses problems from each of the math strands (number and operations, algebra, geometry, measurement, problem solving, data analysis and probability). Mrs. Martinez monitors the work and checks homework assignments at her round table. Joanna pulls out a tongue depressor and calls out:

Joanna: 12. (No one answers.)

Joanna: 12? (Still no one answers.)

Martinez: Is 12 absent today? Who is 12?

The students tell her that it is Steven and he is in the office with the principal for something that happened in the bus loop.

Martinez: Well, Joanna, call on someone else.

Joanna: 2.

Richie: (Richie is number 2. He stands up at his seat and begins to read the problem aloud.) How many minutes are 2 hours? (Pauses slightly) 120 minutes.

Martinez: How did you arrive at your answer?

Richie: I multiplied 60 minutes by 2. There are 60 minutes in an hour and I multiplied that by 2 hours and I got 120 minutes.

Martinez: What strategy or strategies did you use to solve the problem?

Richie: Umm, maybe it's making it simpler and logical reasoning? I knew that there are 60 minutes in an hour and just multiplied 60 times the hours to get the answer. The book says to count by 60s. (Pause) Should I go on?

Joanna: Yes, do the whole problem.

Richie: For how many minutes in three hours, I got 180 minutes For how many minutes in four hours, I got 240 minutes. And for ten hours I got 600 minutes.

Joanna: Did anyone get any other answers?

The students agree with Richie's answers. Joanna pushes the next button on the math program and the answers appear on the screen. Richie punches the air with his fists and says, "Yes!" and sits down. Joanna picked another stick.

Joanna: 8.

That is Tina's number. She stands, reads the next problem and gives her answer.

Tina: A. 2 hours and 15 minutes is how many minutes? It's 135 minutes.

Joanna: Did anyone get another answer?

No one raises their hand or says anything. Some heads shake in agreement. I circle the tables, looking at student work. Tomás does not have the answer the others had. The girl next to him, an English native speaker, is explaining the problem to him in Spanish.

Maria: Hay 60 minutos en una hora, Tomás. Pore so, si quieres saber cuantos minutos hay en dos horas, tienes que . . . [*There are 60 minutes in an hour, Thomas. So if you want to know how many minutes are in two hours, you have to . . .]*

David: Sumar *dos* 60s—dos horas. [*Just add two 60s—two hours*.]

David points at Tomás' work and writes "60" under the "60" Tomás has written. Tomás adds and gets 120.

Maria: Ahora, solo suma 15 minutos. Bueno. [*Now, just add 15 minutes. Good*.]

Joanna: (Speaking to the class and to Tina) What strategies did you use?

Tina: I made an equation—I made the problem simple. I wrote 60 + 60 + 15 = ? and added to get 135.

Joanna then pushes the "next" button and the answer, "135 minutes," is seen on the screen. The students mark their papers correct or are marking the problems to make them correct. Joanna chooses another tongue depressor #5. Fredrique rises from his chair, his paper in hand. He reads the problem, "2000 - 500."

Fredrique: B, 2000 minus 500. When you subtract 500 from 2000, the answer is 1,500.

Joanna: Does everyone agree?

Nick: ?Como lo hizo? [*How was that done?]*

Denise: Tienes que pensur— ?Qué es 1000 menos 500, lo que sabemos es la mitad de 1000, pore so la otra mitad es 500, ves? Entonces, solo sumas el otra 1000 del 2000 y tendrás 1500.?Está bien? [*You have to either think—what is 1000 minus 500, which we know is half of 1000, so the other half is 500, see? Then you just add the other 1000 from the 2000 and you will get 1500. OK?]*

Nick: Okay. Okay. I got it! Thanks.

Denise used Spanish and Nick answered in English. The lesson progresses and the students make sounds that suggest they agree and so Joanna continues. There are four more math problems, "c. 2 ½ + 2 ½; d. 2 ½ - 2 ½; e. How many minutes in 1 ½ hours? . . . 2 ½ hours?; and f. Find half of 100, ÷ 2, ÷ 5, ÷ 5, × 10, ÷ 5." Each time another student rises, giving an answer and telling what strategy they used. A few times, another student tells the class they used another strategy. When this occurred Mrs. Martinez quickly responds with something to the effect of, "Remember, there is usually more than one way to solve a problem." This "warm-up" section of the mathematics lesson began at 9:45 and ended at 9:55.

The students know the procedure, and although there is some off-task talking, they mostly about solving the problems. I note that this kind of dialogue, this collaborative discussion,

is something that takes skill and practice. I conclude that the students have been doing it for a long time.

Martinez: Please send one person from your table to get the white boards and markers. We are not working for the glory of our own personal success. You know how it goes—everyone works. Talk to each other. Then decide—No one is to take over and give all the answers. It's a group effort here.

The three students have retrieved white boards for their group. All students have markers. Mrs. Martinez moves the portable white board to the middle. She writes the word "perimeter" on the board.

Martinez: Marissa, would you please read the definition on the page?

Marissa: "Perimeter. When the line segments enclose an area, a polygon is formed. We can find the distance around a polygon by adding the lengths of all segments that form the polygon. The distance around a polygon is called the perimeter."

Fredrique turns to Ken and says in Spanish, "?perímetro? (*perimeter?)"* Ken answers, "Yes, perimeter is perímetro.

Marissa: "What is the total perimeter of three squares when one square has a side length of ¼ inch, the next square has a side length of ½ inch, and the third square has a side length of 1 inch?"

Martinez: Ok, I am going to give you three minutes to solve this in your groups. Ready? Go.

She sets the timer and walks around the tables, watching the students work. The students are busy, discussing how the problem should be solved. One group is having difficulty working together. The two others are smiling and laughing and writing their solutions on their boards. Mrs. Martinez walks over to the troubled table.

Martinez: Is everyone having an equal say in solving the problem?

Tomás: They won't listen to me.

Martinez: Why aren't you listening to Tomás?

The students protest, saying that Tomás is not working with them but only wants *his* answer to be heard. Tomás objects, but he clearly had been hiding his board from the others, covering it with his arms and chest, when I watched earlier. When he did this, the others in his group worked on the solution without him.

Martinez: You know the rules. You listen to everyone in the group and decide together on an answer. You are now out of time. So, get together for an answer. I'll give you a few more seconds. (She turns to the rest of the class.) Ok. Time's up. Let's see the white boards.

The students hold their boards in the air. The group having difficulty working together has decided to use Tomás' answer. Thomas is hastily explaining to his group what he did to solve the problem.

Martinez: Table One and Table Three, you need to check your answers. I think you forgot a part of the problem. Table Two, you have the correct answer. Now let's go over the solutions. Remember, you need to recheck your answers as part of solving the problems. Let's look at Table Two's solution. (She calls on Roberta to speak.)

Roberta: We need to add the three squares' perimeters together to get a total perimeter of all of the squares.

Martinez: So what do we do first?

Roberta: We find the perimeters of each of the squares first.

Tomás: Eso es lo que les dije a todos—!tuvimos que encontra los perímetros de cada uno de los cuadrados! [*That's what I said.—we had to find the perimeters of each of the squares first!]*

Tomás' group erupts with arguments. It appears that no one wishes to be faulted for not working together there, but they soon stop and watch Andy at their table, working the problem out on the portable whiteboard. He draws three squares, a small one, a middle sized one, and a larger one. He writes, "1/4" on the side of the smallest square, "1/2" fpr the middle-sized square and 1 inch next to the side of the largest He stands back to look, moves closer, and writes "in." after "¼"

and the "½." Then he writes, "4 x ¼ in. = 1 inch, 4 x ½ in. = 2 inches, 4 x 1 in. = 4 in." Then, "1 inch + 2 inches + 4 inches = 7 inches."

Martinez: Are we done? Do we need to do anything else?

It appears everyone agrees on the answer. Mrs. Martinez moves on to the "New Concept" part of the lesson.

This example demonstrates several important points. The students were engaged in their lesson using small, collaborative groups. The teacher was not lecturing, but was allowing the students to take some leadership in the lesson, asking them to explain the procedures they used when creating solutions. This was something done in this class on a daily basis, evidenced by the use of the procedures in the collaborative learning situation. The students were actively engaged in working on their problems and were using language to communicate ideas, concepts, thoughts, and questions throughout the entire lesson. They were developing language skills during a mathematics lesson. To extrapolate, they were learning language across the curriculum, not just during reading, writing, and spelling activities.

Another point to ponder is that the teacher implemented those objectives in the Saxon Math series, but not in the lecture style that the Saxon scripts indicate. In doing this, Mrs. Martinez was being responsive to her students' needs as ELL students, as students of various ability levels, and as students who need interactive communication to challenge their ideas and perspectives of how things work and where and how they fit into the world. This style of teaching, where students take leadership in their learning process and use discussion and dialogue to challenge their perspectives, perceptions and ideas provided good examples of what Cloud, Genesee, and Hamayan (2000) included on their list of nine critical features of a dual language program. In particular, this lesson reflected the use of point 4, the teacher understands and uses developmental appropriateness of her curriculum and instructional methods, and point

5, the learning is student-centered and dynamic. It changes to reflect the needs of the students. The language instruction is integrated with challenging academic instruction. Students are given ample opportunities to use language actively.

Small collaborative group work. Mrs. Martinez had found many ways to use small group and collaborative group work across the curriculum. Although she sometimes read bits of curricular material and implemented lessons in a whole-class style, she rarely lectured. Her instructional choices coincided with her teaching and learning ideals.

In May, near the end of the school year, they had not covered the required content in the social studies curriculum. Instead of using the text-suggested, whole-group lessons from the teacher's guide, which probably needed more weeks than were left, she chose to use the textbook as a resource and gave an assignment with the same objectives but more investigative and in project approach again using small collaborative group instruction. Each student was to end up making an album about a U.S. Civil War personage.

A student-created rubric. For this social studies project, on the side, the students as a whole group, were to create a rubric to assess their work, identifying criteria of what should be present in the finished project. Here, the social studies project "essentials" were written on the portable whiteboard. The students used the rubric to guide their work as they developed their project. Mrs. Martinez used this rubric for grading the final projects. This activity especially addresses point 7 on the list of dual-language features: teachers are reflective, understanding, and using a variety of assessment methods creatively in responsive ways. This part of the social studies curriculum was taught using Spanish. The social studies textbooks, in Spanish, were from Harcourt Publishing to meet the State of Illinois fifth grade standards.

Martinez: Saquen sus diarios y libros de estudios sociales. [*Get out your social studies books and your journals*.]

She holds up a hand and counts down, folding one finger at a time as she says each number, "Cinco, cuatro, tres, dos, uno. (*Five, four, three, two, one*.) The students scurry to get their social studies book and journals, then settle down with a partner or small group to work on their project. There is talk between partners but it is quiet and in Spanish. On the portable whiteboard is written:

Unidad 5	Proclamaćionde	Las Battallos
Capitulo 10	emancipácion	□ Gettysburg
Lecćion 1,2,3,4,5	é	□ Fuerte Sumpter
Página 405	Album de recortes	□ Bull Run
□ esclavos 5	de la	□ Antietam
□ reporte	Guerra Civil	
des parrafos	Introduction/Conclusion	
de una persona	□ mapas—3	□ fotos (internet, library) -10
importante	□ illustrations -5	

One pair sat at the reading area discussing the notes on the important person they had chosen. They had gathered information from the textbook chapters covering the Civil War.

Joanna: Tenemos lo que dice el libro y encontramos dos pasajes sobre él en el internet. Estes es suficiente para escribir de su parte en las batallas. [*We have what the book said and we found two readings about him on the internet. This is enough to write about his part in the battles*.]

Tina: Pienso que necesitamos incluir más de donde vivía él y más acerca de su familia. [*I think we need to include more about where he lived and more about his family*.]

Joanna: Ok, pero no pienso que vamos a encontra mucha información de él. Talvéz hay un libro que se trata de él que incluye información de su familia. Vámosnos a la computadora. [*Ok, but I don't think we are going to find too much about him. Maybe there is a book about his life that will include information about his family. Let's go to the computer*.]

The two are discussing Robert E. Lee, an important person of the civil war mentioned in the textbook. I watch their search for more information at the computer. The computer's language is English, and so the search is in English. Joanna is doing the typing. The first site listed is Wikipedia. The two students look at each other,

Joanna: No debemos usar Wikipedia. Entonces, vamos usar este. [*We aren't supposed to use Wikipedia. So, let's use this one*.]

Tina: !Espéate! Mira las fotos. Podemos usar algunas de las fotos para nuestro album de recortes. También hay una aquí de los miembros de su familia. Y hay sitios en donde podemos ir para más información de los miembros de familia. [*Wait. Look at the pictures. We can use some of the photos in our album! And it lists his family members here, and there are sites we can go to get information on the family members*.]

They write down the information under the pictures, "born—January 19, 1807, died—October, 12, 1870, spouse—Mary Anna Custis Lee, married 1931, parents—Henry Lee and Anne Hill Carter Lee, children—George Washington Custis Lee, Robert E. Lee. Jr., William Henry Fitzhugh Lee." They store a few of the images of General Lee. Then they visit the next listed website to find out more about his family life; they click on Robert E. Lee, the address being, "www.civilwar.org/education/history/biographies/robert-e-lee."

I walk around the room listening and observing other groups. The newly immigrated students of the class seem engaged in their projects. I note that two pairs of the newer immigrant students have chosen Abraham Lincoln as their important person. There seems to be a great deal of enthusiasm for this project by the students altogether. No one is lagging or slacking off that I can see. Sometimes, someone will communicate in English, or ask how to say something they wish to say in Spanish, or there might be some code switching during conversations with each other, but the work is being accomplished mostly in Spanish.

Martinez: Vamos a trabajar en español hoy. Saquen papel para el examen de ortografía y también traigan los papeles a la mesa, los cuales en que han estado trabajando en taller de escritura.*[We are working in Spanish today. Take out paper for your spelling test and bring the papers to your table you have been working on in writers workshop, too.]*

The students take out paper and pencils and move to the tables. Some students have erected folders they call "offices" to keep other eyes from focusing on their papers. When Mrs. Martinez sees all students sitting at their seats, she begins the spelling test.

Martinez: *Júpiter. Una de las planetas de nuestro sistema solar es Júpiter. (She pauses a bout three seconds and gives the next word.) Marte. Marte es la planeta más grande en nuestro sistema solar. Plutón. Ha sdo eliminado de la lista de planetas. Plúton. [Jupitor. One of the planets in our solar system is Jupitor. Jupitor.] (Pause.) [Mars. Mars is the largest planet in our system. Mars.] (Another pause.) [Pluto. Pluto has been taken off our list of planets. Pluto.]*

The spelling test consists of 10 words in Spanish. After giving the last word, Mrs. Martinez asks the students to put the tests on her worktable and to get out their writing workshop papers. The students have been working on these papers for a few sessions. Mrs. Martinez gave me an unused packet so that I could observe the lesson better. The packet has a student smiling while walking on stilts that look like pencils. There is a duck, which appears to be happily flapping its wings on the ground near the boy. The title is "Reacción técnica." At the bottom it says, "Lecciones de lenguaje/Escritura—Nivel intermedio." The students are finishing some of the exercises and working with each other, sharing some of the things they wrote. There is some laughing, because some of the boys have used their assignment, imaginative stories, to write comedic accounts. I watch them laugh and listen to their conversations in Spanish. One girl, a Spanish native speaker, leans toward me and explains in English.

Maria: Tomás likes to write funny stories. He likes to make us laugh. This time he has written about a space alien who didn't like his food. He is making gagging noises as he tells what the alien is saying.

I thank her for letting me in on the story and for speaking English to me so I could better understand. She smiles and goes back to finishing up her papers. Mrs. Martinez is working with individuals at her workspace, completing some of the AIMSweb "maze" assessments. When she finishes she moves to the portable whiteboard, clears it with an eraser and then turns to the class.

Martinez: Vamos a hacer un esquema, así como hicimos en estudios sociales. En el centro del papel. En la parte de arriba escriban el tema. Entones, pongan el número uno Román aquí. Van a repetir esto cuando tienen ideas diferentes acerca de su tema. Necesitan ser muy claros de sus ideas diferentes y de lo que quieren expresar acerca del tema. La asignación es

de escribir acerca de los cotorros, pero pueden escribir también acerca de la familia, la familia, las mascotas. Si han tenido experiencias con los cotorros y quieren escribir acerca de ellos, su esquema se tratará de los cotorros. Hablen con su grupo acerca de lo que piesan de lo que.

[We are going to do an outline, like we did in social studies. At the middle of the paper at the top.] (She turns to the whiteboard and writes "esquema.") [Put the topic. Next, put a Roman numeral one here.] (She writes a Roman numeral one on the left upper corner under the subject title.) [You repeat this over and over again as you come up with different things you want to write about your topic. You need to be clear about the different things you want to say about the subject. You have been asked to write about parrots, but it can be about family, family pets or if you have experiences with parrots and you want to write about parrots, the outline will be about parrots. Talk with your group about what you think you would like to write about.]

Tomás is telling a story in Spanish about parrots making squawking noises and his tablemates are enjoying his squawks. She walks to the table and laughs at his story and asks if anyone else has had parrots as pets. Several nod their heads "yes." Some listen to other student's pet stories. The teacher walks to the white board and writes at the top, "Titulo." Under that she writes,

I. Tema
   A. subtema
   B. subtema

II. Tema
   A. subtema
   B. subtema

She gets a pile of lined paper and hands some to each table.

Martinez: Ahora, si les pueden ayudar, uno a otro, pero me gustaría que escriban sus prpios esquemas para los cuentos que han estado compartiendo con sus grupos. Solo escriban lo básico, no tienen que ser muy detallados. [Now, you can help each other, but I would like you to write your own outlines for the stories you have been sharing with your group. Just write the basics, you don't have to be too detailed.]

She looks at the outlines at table one and exclaims) !Exactamente! Lo has hecho correctamente. ?No hay consejo que darías a los dueños de las mascotas? [Exactly! You have done it correctly! What advice can you give to the owners of the pets?]

Table One is conversing in both Spanish and English. Andy, an English-as-first-language-speaker, is asking what the Spanish word for "advice" is. Joanna runs to the bookshelves to get the Spanish-English dictionary and hands it to Andy. As I watch these students doing their writing activity in Spanish, I see a well-oiled machine, each student being a potential tutor for the person next to him or her. There is dialogue, some planned, but other times, spontaneous. And it also appears that when given these opportunities, the students seem joyful and engaged in their tasks, enhancing the environment. Cloud, et al (2000) list in point nine, "dual-language programs aim for additive bilingualism." Additive bilingualism is a positive nature or climate of the environment of the classroom. There is a positive climate in Mrs. Matinez's classroom where the teacher and students exhibit positive attitudes towards each other. It seems to be an emotionally and physically safe environment for the members of their classroom community and is enrichment, not remedial in its nature. The teaching strategies and style Mrs. Martinez uses daily in her classroom for the language minority students in her classroom reflect the features of enriched education.

> Martinez: In fifth grade, we're supposed to use the Saxon Math textbook series [for our curriculum]—and there are books for social studies and textbooks for science, and there are textbooks for reading, and you know, I guess that's the curriculum. But, I don't adhere to it very well. I don't teach page for page and do all of the worksheets or all of the assessments that are provided with the textbook program. (She sighs heavily) In math, I pretty much follow the math [textbook] scope and sequence, but I change it up, I involve the kids in the instruction, and I allow them to take over parts of it. And I incorporate group work. And none of that is suggested by the textbook. If I were to just stand up there and deliver the lesson, they would be bored stiff. They would be falling to sleep. They

> would be fidgeting around, spinning on their heads! They wouldn't be engaged.

Mrs. Martinez seemed to take the Cloud (2000) nine "critical features" to heart. She incorporated these ideals in her classroom in the form of organization, curricular and instructional choices and her formal and informal student assessments. She is the person who gave me a book .

> Martinez: I think you will be able to use this book. I have two of them, so just keep it. This was one of the texts we were given back in the FLAP grant days when we were getting all those classes here. Bee (Mrs. Baldwin) and I would read parts of it and just look at each other and say, "Yes! Yes! Yes!" It was exactly what we were trying to accomplish here. All of the D-L teachers were working with these things at that time.

What Mrs. Martinez chooses to do with the curriculum fits her perspective of learning, where constructivist, developmental, child-centered, and more socially-culturally-linguistically responsive teaching and learning is central to supporting her students' successful and equitable learning. Her classroom is an example of what dual-language and bilingual language learning is meant to be like in practice, according to the text and other ESL/Bilingual literature. Here in one dual language classroom, at the end of the decade, is a strong example of what the original program called for. But it is just one classroom.

Mr. Patton, Fifth Grade, General Education Classroom

Mr. Patton and I met for an interview after school. He had two African immigrant students. They were using the computers as I entered the room. He explained that the two children's mother had arranged for the boys to stay after school hours on certain days to get some extra help with their assignments. The boys were there for about 10 minutes before leaving. They had been using the internet to play math games that Mr. Patton had found for them. His student teacher remained in the classroom during the interview, and because I discovered she was going to be in the classroom doing some of the teaching, she agreed to sign a

permission form and to be observed, too. When the students left for their home, we began our interview session.

Mr. Patton's interview. I asked about his background and learned he had taught 4 years, two in middle school and two at the elementary level. He taught all subjects but had been assigned to teach sixth and seventh grade language arts, eighth grade pre-algebra, and sixth and seventh regular math classes.

Gilman: Are you familiar with this kind of community?

Patton: I grew up in a fairly diverse community. When I was growing up it wasn't as diverse there but it grew more and more diverse. I've been exposed to it (diversity), but teaching in it is a different story. Living in it is one thing, teaching in it, trying to understand how the kids work together and work on their own, coming into the classrooms with their own personalities, definitely has changed how I view teaching. . . . I've grown accustomed to this area, just the lifestyle, the different people, in these small towns. When you come here as faculty and staff, you're fortunate to find people who really welcome you.

Gilman: If you had the power to design your own school, what would the school design include?

Patton: That's a good question. Since I have my administrative degree. (He smiles.) Ok, what would I want my school to look like? I definitely want it up-to-date because I want my students to use technology. Everything in today's society revolves around technology. Getting kids exposed as early as you can to technology, how it relates to life, how you can learn various subjects in the classroom through technology, is extremely beneficial. I also like the idea of having a unified curriculum where we know where a teacher is going to be at, even district wide. If a child moves from out in the country school into a city school because parents need to move, they're going to come into the classroom and are not going to be behind or ahead. For example, I had a student move into my class a little while ago. We were starting a new chapter and he was already two chapters ahead of us. He was kind of listening to us and reviewing and so, a unified curriculum [would be something I would definitely put into the school].

Gilman: Unified, as in standardization?

Patton: As in standardization, a state curriculum that everyone has accepted, that has proven it will provide the learning environment where everyone is going to gather the skills that they will need.

Here is a new teacher, an educator who has not been teaching very long, expressing that a curriculum can be standardized and that one curriculum will be responsive to all the students. He has his administrative certification. I am doubting that he understands the pros and cons of a standardized curriculum and the complexities of learning in terms of societies where the beliefs, languages and values might be very different from his own. How would a standardized curriculum serve society and his students? I am thinking, "Who will choose this curriculum?"

Gilman: Where did you learn about standardized curriculum?

Patton: Definitely the strongest place was in coming here. Knowing that we were working on finding a unified [curriculum]. I was in charge of making sure we had all the materials for fifth grade and that everyone was in agreement for using this kind of math. Even up to last year the issues were, did we know that everyone was using the math [curriculum] provided? Because if they weren't, there would be gaps. A student might be ready to start the next grade and maybe the skills they had gathered didn't prepare them for the next grade level.

Patton: Now we are doing our reading series. I would like to standardize our science curriculum next. Finding a curriculum that provides students with skills they will need to understand in order to really expose them to different career paths. They need to know, even in fifth grade, that biology and different subjects that go along with that, [are needed to do different jobs]. But if we're not finding the best, the most beneficial curriculum, are we providing them what the students really need?

I saw him as almost conflicted. On the one side, wanting everyone on the same page so that no one is behind or ahead of anyone else. And the other side, wanting a curriculum sensitive to different career paths. I thought further about the way curriculum is being conceptualized. Could it be that "curriculum" is becoming synonymous with "textbook?"

Gilman: What is this school's purpose concerning the diverse population of its students?

Patton: This school's purpose is to create an environment that provides equal opportunities for students to gain knowledge that they need to gain, but also to give positive reinforcement to them saying, "We understand that you are from a different background and we want to gain knowledge from you because of that." Promoting diversity.

I am doubting if what he is saying can be done. Can there be standardization of the curriculum, where everyone is encountering the same knowledge, and still be promoting differences? I see differences in educational perspective between two groups of educators at Westview Elementary, but here I see here those differences within a single teacher. Can one really believe that all students will fit into the one curriculum chosen, and believe that there should be a more developmentally appropriate and socially-culturally-linguistically responsive approach to curriculum. This will be a point to discuss with other participants

Observations of Mr. Patton's classroom. Signs are posted in the hallway adjacent Mr. Patton's classroom. One proclaims, "The END is Near, 3.16.2012, Have YOU met your goal yet?" The words "end" and "you" are larger than the surrounding letters and are in red. Mr. Patton tells me the sign is reminding students about their Accelerated Reading goals. He says that the class is going to make the goal because they are over 9,000 presently and only need 16,000. Another sign at his door is a commercially-made poster on old parchment paper in the style of a "wanted poster." It says, "Wanted, Great kids." and "Wanted for Working Together, Following Directions, and Contributing to a Happy Classroom." "REWARD" in large lettering, offering: "A Fun School Year and a Wonderful Education!"

At age 28, Mr. Patton is on the road to becoming a principal. It is his first year of teaching at Westview. He seems well liked by his students. He has a ready smile, is enthusiastic, seems cheerful, and moves through the hallways quickly, keeping a loose rein on his students. They walk a casual line to and from the classroom, chattering softly. Mr. Patton watches his students, checking noise and boisterous actions. I am surprised to see students travelling so freely through the halls.

I follow the students into the classroom, watch them as they go directly to their desks and pull out their worksheets for a mathematics session. I am confused because I wanted to see the reading lesson and the posted schedule says that this is the time the class is to have reading:

8:15–8:30	Attendance and lunch count
8:30–9:15	Specials Class
9:20–10:00	Science
10:00–10:10	Restroom & Drinks
10:10–10:50	Social Studies
10:50–11:25	Reading
11:25–11:55	Spelling & English
11:55–12:25	Lunch
12:25–12:35	Physical Activity
12:35–12:40	Restrooms & Drinks
12:45– 1:55	Math
1:55– 2:00	AR Silent Reading
2:00– 2:40	Intervention
2:40– 2:55	Study Time/Prepare for Dismissal

I asked Mr. Patton about it He said, “We had to switch due to the testing preparation. Right now we do math in the morning and reading in the afternoon.” I decide to observe the math lesson.

There aren’t many wall surfaces in the room, but where there are wall spaces they are filled with posters. Some are encouragements to do “best work,” some explain how to be a “best reader” or “best writer.” High windows take up the top half of the south wall in the small classroom. This wall also has the two classroom computers, where students can do their Accelerated Reading Tests, play certain online academic games, use the word processors, or use the internet for a study resource. The teachers also use these computers to write a weekly newsletter for parents. Mr. Patton has a student teacher working now on one, I take a seat close by. Next to the computers on that wall is a small desk which the student teacher has made her work space. In the southeast corner is Mr. Patton’s desk. On the wall by his desk are two certificates, his Illinois teaching certificate and his Illinois administration certificate. Against the front of his desk is a bookcase that meets another bookcase on the East wall. In that corner space,

where a large "educational" pictured rug has been placed on the floor, is the reading area. Like the room, it is small. Over the reading area and extending past it on that east wall are white boards, on which Mr. Patton writes the homework assignments for the week in each of the subjects. There are two large metal cabinets and a door now sealed shut. Coat hooks and small cubbies are on the north wall, The west wall is almost entirely covered with white board. The student desks are placed separately in four rows and four columns, I note that there is very little space to walk freely throughout the room. In the second row facing the west wall, is the overhead projector. It is from this overhead projector position that Mr. Patton and his student teacher deliver most of their lessons.

On another day I go to observe a reading lesson. It will not be in the classroom, but in the long hallway. Mr. Patton has split his class into two groups for the lesson. Half of the group is with Miss Tower, the student teacher, and half with him in the hallway. Nine students and I are sitting on the bench against the wall. Mr. Patton sits on a crate facing the group. He holds a copy of a story the group has been reading, "Spirit of Endurance." He also holds a list of questions provided by the textbook series he has been piloting for the school, "Treasures," a MacMillan reading series program. The story they are reading and discussing is one in the Grade 5, Unit 5 section of the series.

Patton: Let's review what we've read. We know this story was based on stories written by people on an expedition. What was the purpose of the expedition? (Students raise their hands.) Gary?

Gary: They were trying to go to the South Pole and cross Antarctica.

Patton: Right. And what were some of the events that have taken place so far? (Again, the students raise their hands.) Claire?

Claire: The ship, *Endurance*, left England and sailed to South America—Argentina, then left for Antarctica. And they found a stow-away.

Patton: Yes, they leave Buenos Aires, Argentina for Antarctica and they find a stow-away, who they take with them on their expedition. Then what happens to the expedition? (The students' hands go up again.) Julie?

Julie: They have to kill the sled dogs.

Patton: Yes, they eventually killed the sled dogs, but what did they do before they killed the dogs?

Julie: The ship gets caught in the ice and the ice breaks the ship apart. The dogs live on the ice in igloos the people made for them, but they have to travel to an island that is over 300 miles away and so the dogs help move the supplies away from the sinking ship.

Patton: So what did they do next? (Hands go up.) Richie?

Richie: They loaded the three lifeboats with all their supplies and pulled them one at a time from where the ship was sinking to where they were heading, the island, (pauses to look at his story), Paulet Island.

Mr. Patton looks at the story in his hands, then looks back at the students to ask questions. The questions and answers are delivered quickly in a traditional manner for reviewing content material. The reading lesson continues.

Patton: So, what happens as they drag their supplies across the ice to the island? (The hands go up.) Sarah?

Sarah: It's difficult traveling on the ice because it isn't smooth and then it gets warmer, the weather changes. They are moving through slush.

Patton: Right, they are moving their supplies through watery snow. This is when they have to kill the sled dogs, right? (The students nod their heads "yes." There is some off-task talking between a couple of students near one end of the bench and Mr. Patton reprimands them: Hey, guys, let's focus on our work. So what happens next? (Mr. Patton calls upon one of the boys on the end of the bench.) Stuart?

Stuart: After they kill the dogs, they have to get into the boats and sail to the island. They rowed the boats and the wind and big waves made the travel hard. They didn't sleep and didn't much have food or water. They ended up going to Elephant Island and made a camp there.

Patton: And how did the men act when they landed? Althea?

Althea: They cry and laugh and fall on the ground. (There is giggling by some of the students.) They are really glad they made it to the island.

Patton: Why were they so happy?

Patton: So, what did Shackleton do after a few days at the camp and why did he do what he did? (He pauses) Ellie?

Ellie: He left with five other guys to sail to South Georgia Island because Elephant Island didn't have anyone living on it. They went to get a ship to rescue the others on the expedition. Shackleton and the other guys made it to South Georgia Island, but three of them had to climb a mountain to get to the fishing village.

Patton: Ok, they made it to South Georgia Island and then three of them went over the hills to the fishing village on the other side of the island. And back at Elephant Island, what was happening? Gina?

Gina: The men were trying to keep warm and trying to keep busy by playing games. They didn't know if Shackleton was coming back for them because it took so long.

Patton: Right. So, let's finish reading the story. Tim, would you read?

Tim: When Shackleton, Worsley, and Crean walked into the whaling station on May 20, they looked like wild men. They were in rags, their faces black from oily smoke, and their hair and beards long and matted. Dogs barked in alarm as they staggered into the station manager's house. "Who the devil are you?" asked the station manager. "My name is Shackleton," the Boss replied. There was stunned silence. No one had expected to see Shackleton alive, let alone see him walking down from the peaks of South Georgia Island. But when the Boss told their story, they were treated as heroes.

Patton: Okay. They made it to the whaling station and were treated like heroes. Let's continue.

He looks at the students. Then he looks back to his story pages and reads along silently. I observe that most of the students concentrate on their story pages, only one or two occasionally looking up or staring off from the group. They seem to know this routine of reviewing the story and then round-robin reading. They know what is expected of them during reading time with Mr. Patton.

Patton: Gina, would you continue the story?

Gina: The three weary men were given hot baths and hot food, and allowed to sleep. As soon as they woke, Shackleton began arranging a rescue party. Worsley set out in a boat with some of the whalers to pick up the men on the other side of the island. A steamer was outfitted to make for Elephant Island, and Shackleton left at once. But the weather and the ocean were against him. He was forced to turn back for South Georgia Island. Twice he tried, but the cruel Antarctic winter was too brutal. June and July went by, and Shackleton was desperate to get his men. At last, in August, he took a Chilean ship called the Yelcho and made once more for Elephant Island.

Patton: So, Shackleton is ready to rescue his men that were left on Elephant Island. Does he know if anyone has survived? Richie?

Richie: I don't think he could know. They didn't have any way to know back then.

Patton: That's right. They didn't have all the technology we have today available to the expedition. So, Shackleton had no way of knowing what he might find when he got to Elephant Island. Richie, would you read?

Richie begins to read from the point where Gina had stopped. He reads the next four or so paragraphs and then Mr. Patton chooses another student to read the last three paragraphs. He then leads the group in a discussion about the story.

Patton: What kinds of things have we learned about the North and South Poles? Sammy?

Sammy: It's very cold there—lots of ice and snow, wind and—it's hard to live there. Well, for people to live there, not the penguins or the seals.

Patton: That's right. It is very hard to live there without provisions from somewhere else. Okay, we don't have time to discuss any more about the story, but your writing assignment is to answer this question, "Would you like to go to the North and South Pole? Why or why not?" When you finish your assignments Here, the social studies project "essentials" were written on the portable whiteboard., please put them in the assignment bin.

Here Mr. Patton followed the curriculum guide in the reading series. From what he said in his interview, this is important to him. One reason might be that he is piloting the series and feels he should use the lessons as written in the teacher guide to properly evaluate the series for the textbook committee. The second reason might be his commitment to following core standards and ensuring that all of the students will have the same curriculum and the same

content. A third reason might be that he wanted to identify with the prevalent administrative position. A fourth reason might be that the response was what he wanted me to hear. In most of my observations, Mr. Patton's view of standardization seemed strong. He advocated unified, standardized use of curricular materials and textbook lessons as a way to insure that all students would be similarly engaged.

He did not acknowledge that some of the other teachers had anti-standardization views. Mr. Patton's standardization perspective did not endorse many of the features of the Cloud et al. (2000) list, such as the "developmental, child-centered, and relevancy of curriculum and instruction to students' home backgrounds and communities." I did see Mr. Patton using stories and interactive online games to engage his students. He seemed to take great effort in creating bonds between himself and his students.

Mr. Patton did adjust his lessons to better fit his students, but more covertly than overtly. As expected, the language of all his daily learning activities was English. His goals in language teaching seemed oriented to Federal and State standards. He had little to say about vocabulary, although he happily allowed his student teacher have the students use vocabulary study diaries, where investigations of the meanings of words of their own choice gave the students a more personal way of developing vocabulary.

Mr. Patton was relatively new to the school district and school. He was in his fourth year of teaching, but did not see himself as a novice teacher. He seemed confident in his curriculum choices and in what he did as he taught. He seemed well organized, having lesson plans that reflected school and district grade level expectations as well as the State standards.

I observed two of his science lessons based on concepts of energy. Each came from the fifth grade science text and used the worksheets provided. In one, I observed the students

entering the room with boisterous energy. The desks that formerly were in single rows and columns were now arranged for groups of four. It was a just a little bit past 9:20 a.m., the time assigned to science.

> Patton: Let's settle down. Put your worksheet on your desk and we will go through it together. Work along with the class—don't work ahead of us. Okay, let's look at the first question. (He glances quickly at Rebecca who has been busy writing on her worksheet.) Don't work ahead.

He looks around the classroom and chooses Daniel to read the question. I looked to see if the students need to read their science texts to find the answers for the worksheet, but it was clear that some students had not filled the blanks in with answers, and so I listened closely to the answers being given and to Mr. Patton's replies. This science lesson's subject was energy, specifically, electricity. Mr. Patton walked over to Rebecca's desk and bent over saying in a low voice, "Do not work ahead of us, Rebecca." The lesson continued with Mr. Patton calling on people and students reading the questions and then giving an answer.

> Steve: How does electricity travel through electric wiring? Metal conducts electricity and the wires are made of metal.
>
> Patton: Does all metal conduct electricity? (Pauses and then calls on a student.) Ricardo?
>
> Ricardo: Yes. I mean, no. Some metal does not conduct electricity well. But some metal, like copper and aluminum are really good at conducting electricity.

At the fifth question, Mr. Patton walked over to Rebecca, who was writing on her worksheet, bent over and said, "I told you not to work ahead of us. Here's another worksheet." He took hers. Her eyes darted around, scanning the classroom as if to see if anyone noticed; her face was flushed. The pencil she had been writing with was quietly lowered to her desk and her eyes remained downward a few minutes.

I wondered why the worksheet was being filled out as a whole-group? Couldn't this have been completed using small group instruction or in collaborative work groups instead of having

all the students sit through a one-by-one reading and answering session? If the worksheet were completed using a less teacher-directed style, Rebecca and others might have completed it at their own pace, and Rebecca might have been spared the embarrassment. What compelled Mr. Patton to teach the lesson this way? It is now 9:40 and the worksheet is not yet completed. He promised the students that if they finished in time, without his having to keep on task, that they would have more time to assemble an electrical circuit. Several students have laid their heads on their desks. Mr. Patton remains enthusiastic, following the guide and completing the required lesson, but no amount of teacher enthusiasm seemed to stir student interest.

In his second science session later that day he used a water wheel. The teaching was similar. A worksheet was completed using whole-class instruction, one question at a time, without dialogue from students. The wheel was messy, so Mr. Patton used only one at the front of the class. He told the class that water wheels make the floors dangerously slippery when all the groups are allowed to do their own experiments.

For the electricity lesson he separated the students into collaborative groups and giving each their own materials to make a circuit. It was an attempt to use collaborative group work. About 15 minutes were left of the science lesson when the worksheet was finished. He then explained the experiment that the students would do. With the explanation and distribution of materials, only about 8 minutes of the period were left. Some of the batteries were dead. Some of the light bulbs did not work. The students rushed through the experiment. Some did not get the light bulb to light. Some expressed disappointment. Some succeeded. Near the end of the time, Mr. Patton moved from group to group, helping the students complete the experiment.

His curriculum and instructional choices that I saw were more teacher-directed (textbook curriculum-directed) than child-centered or student-directed. He used small-group and collaborative-group strategies in his lessons, but spoke of his frustration in grade level meeting.

> Patton: I know we are supposed to be using collaborative groups in our lessons, but is anyone else having difficulty using collaborative groups? I mean, they just talk when I put them into their groups.

This began a short discussion on the impracticalities of using collaborative groupings. It might have been a good opportunity for sharing experiences of what lessons worked well with collaborative grouping but somehow it was not. The discussion demonstrated that Mr. Patton was willing to learn more about this student-centered activity. It might have been a sign that staff development on small-group teaching and collaborative-group teaching/learning might be appreciated at the school. Perhaps also, if there had been a mentor for Mr. Patton, one who could demonstrate collaborative learning and nurture his understanding of the practice, it would have been helpful for him in his clear dedication to better education.

In this dissertation I am looking primarily at the dual language program. I observed the general education classes at length, partly to compare the mono-language with multi-language situations at Westview. The need for collaborative learning is not special to dual language teaching. The arguments for collaborative experience in school are pertinent to almost all classrooms. Were the general education teachers experienced with its engagement of diverse children, they might have been more effective allies in preserving the dual language program at Westview.

Mrs. Winters and Mrs. Estuvaz, Kindergarten, Team-Taught D-L Classrooms

Mrs. Winters was a soft-spoken woman who had been teaching in kindergarten and early childhood education for over 20 years. She was well respected by other teachers in the school,

and she sat on the School Improvement Plan committee as well as other committees, such as the reading curriculum committee. She was one of the teachers in the dual-language program who was certified for teaching through a traditional route, studying for an education degree at a college. She also had a Master's degree and endorsement certification in ESL. Her D-L kindergarten classroom was in the hallway near the school entrance, close to the office. It was a small room, about 20' x 20' with no windows except the one in the hallway door. The carpeting muffled much of the noise of the 18 to 22 five-year-olds. On the back wall was another door, opening into Mrs. Winter's D-L teaching partner's classroom.

On that same wall were cabinets and sink. just behind the portable chart/whiteboard that Mrs. Winters used for the small meeting carpet. Her desk was parallel to this wall. On the east wall was a closet for children's coats and backpacks on assigned hooks. In front of the closet was a long red rectangular table. On the north wall were bookshelves with picture book selections and an assortment of manipulatives for mathematics, reading, and writing activities. In the northeast corner three computers were set up on a half-circle table.

In the center of the room, taking up most of the space, were 11 individual desks for 5-year olds, set back-to-back. On each desk were nameplates, two names per desk. The desks acted as cubbies to keep the students' pencil boxes and other items. On one wall, Mrs. Winters kept her CDs and CD player, used especially during transitions.

A lot of materials were kept in the room, teaching resource materials and books, student files, and student work piles. Everything was neatly placed in its space. However, the room was small. There was very little open space for the types of play or movement recommended by the National Association for the Education of Young Children. The room seems even smaller because of the many pieces of furniture being used.

Mrs. Estuvaz's classroom was about the same size, but configured differently. On one wall, the computer table jutted into space against the teacher's desk. The Elmo was located on a table nearby. One wall had bulletin boards and a pull down screen for the Elmo. The teacher's desk was touching a student desk. Mrs. Estuvaz also used individual student desks, with two student names fixed atop each desk. These desks were set back-to-back in three rows, having eight, eight, and six desks each. A large meeting rug had the center place, where children had ample room for movement. A long whiteboard and a long rectanglular table sat for small-group lessons and for children seen as needing time out from the regular activities.

At different times during the day, all or most of the children might be gathered into one of these two rooms for a two-class meeting, such as for doing the daily calendar together. Both rooms were small for combined activity for any length of time.

The calendar activity was something shared by both classes. In Mrs. Estuvaz's classroom, Spanish was spoken by the teacher, the teaching assistants and by the children, with only occasional bits of English. In Mrs. Winter's classroom, English was the language used in daily lessons. When all of the students joined in one room it was done in entirely in Spanish or in English. The calendar is an every-day part of kindergarten mathematics.

For this particular observation, all of the students were gathered in Mrs. Winter's classroom for calendar time. Her home students sat at their desks while Mrs. Estuvaz's students sat in the meeting areas by the calendar and at the whiteboard. Mrs. Winters sang, "Old King Cole was a merry old soul and a merry old soul was he . . ." and the students, one-by-one, began to join in until everyone was facing her. The students on the opposite side were not sitting cross-legged, but were on their knees so they could see the calendar.

Winters: Who is the calendar person today? Joanie? Ok, Joanie. Get the pointer and come lead us.

Joanie picks her way to the pointer and back to the calendar. She faces forward proudly, holding the stick in front of her. The students begin to talk so Mrs. Winters starts another rhyme. She puts her hands out and gestures as she speaks.

Winters: Open, shut them. Open, shut them. Give a little clap! (She and the children are now doing the rhyme together and everyone claps their hands.) Open, shut them. Open, shut them. Put them in your lap. (All the students place their hands in their laps and look up to Mrs. Winters. One of the boys calls out a student name.) Boys and girls, we need to be quiet because the big kids are testing next door and we do not want to disturb them. (She turns to the boy who name-called.) Do you see my red table? (She points to the rectangle table by the closets.) That is where I will have you sit if nice things don't come out of your mouth. Joanie, are you ready to lead us? (Joanie nods her head "yes.") Boys and girls, is our pattern AB, ABB, ABBC, or ABC? (Students are waving their hands in the air. Joanie calls on one of them.)

Joanie: Jilly.

Jilly: ABC.

Winters: Is she right? Is the pattern ABC? Let's look and make sure.

Joanie puts the pointer on the first calendar pocket with its orange paper strip and the number 1, standing for March 1st. Mrs. Winters leads the children in choral saying of the color pattern of the days of the month. Each time they say a color, Joanie taps the color strips in the day of the month they are pocketed in.

Students and Winters: Orange, white, green, orange, white, green, orange.

They stop at seven and orange because the day is March 7. There are seven colors in their pattern today.

Winters: Was Jilly correct? (They nod their heads "yes" and say, "Yes.") That's right, Jilly is correct. It is an ABC pattern. So, what is the color we need to put in today's calendar pocket?

The children say in unison, "White," and Mrs. Winters turns to Joanie.

Winters: That's right. White goes next. Joanie, would you put a white strip in the pocket?

Joanie takes a white strip and puts it in the pocket. Then she moves to the poster with the names of the month. Mrs. Winters leads the class in the names of the month rhyme as Joanie points to the printed month names on the poster. Sometimes Joanie gets out of sync with Mrs. Winters and the class, but slows down or speeds up. Next to days of the week, the students are led in another rhyme that is sung to the Addams Family theme song.

> Class in unison: Days of the week (snap of fingers, snap of fingers), Days of the week (snap, snap), Days of the week, days of the week, days of the week (snap, snap), There's Monday and there's Tuesday, there's Wednesday and there's Thursday. There's Friday and there's Saturday and Sunday in the week. Days of the week (snap, snap), Days of the week (snap, snap), Days of the week, days of the week, days of the week. (snap, snap).

Some of the students are not doing the rhyme. One Hispanic boy leans over and whispers to a neighboring Hispanic boy. They giggle and move closer to each other, but Mrs. Winters, standing near them and bends over, whispering something. They quietly move back, glum faced.

> Winters: Today is Sylvie and Jackie's birthday. I have a sad story, though. Sylvie is sick on her birthday. But we can sing Happy Birthday to her today and, when she comes back to school, we can sing to her again.

Everyone begins singing the "Happy Birthday" song to Sylvie and Jackie, first in English and then in Spanish. They giggle as they add, "cha-cha-cha" after each verse, making a twisting movement of the body with the cha-cha-chas. Smiles all around, all are engaged in the birthday singing. The two Hispanic boys admonished earlier have wiggled closer together and are enjoying the singing and the cha-cha-chas. They are giggling and laughing again, more loudly than the others. Mrs. Winters quietly steps between them and the two boys are again separated. The two are still enjoying the song and they may not have noticed that they were separated again.

The next activity in the calendar lesson is to tell how many days they have been in school. They look to the pocket that represents the days in school. The sticks are bundled together to show groups of five and then 10 and then hundreds. The children looked at how many

five bundles, how many 10 bundles and how many 100 bundles in the pocket. This day is the 125th day of the school year. Mrs. Winters asks one of the two Hispanic boys, Tomás, to come up and count the bundles for the class and then to choose the number that needed to be placed in the ones position of the number of days. He chooses five. The class agreed and the number five was put in the ones position. The children are getting wiggly, squirming.

Winters: I'll wait until your eyes are up here.

The children focus their eyes on Mrs. Winters again. She takes some money manipulatives from another pocket and begins counting out coins and dollar bills out loud. There is $1.24. Many of the children were counting with her, but some were glancing about the room. This whole-group activity is taking a long time.

Winters: What must we do now? There are 125 days we have been in school now. What must we add to the money pocket? (Some of the children say, "another penny.") Yes, we need to add another penny to the money pocket. We will have enough pennies to trade for a nickel. (She trades the five pennies for a nickel and puts it in the pocket. The children are restless.) Boys and girls, the longer this takes, the shorter your recess becomes.

The children become still. She moves through narrow spaces, picking a pathway to avoid stepping on the carpet-seated children until she arrived at the whiteboard. It is time for the nutritional lesson. The teacher had written, "meat, milk, fruit, vegetables, bread & cereals" on the board so that a list could be made categorizing the lunch foods. Many of the students seemed disinterested in this activity. Some are talking.

Winters: Let's look at today's menu. Macaroni and cheese. Where should we put this food? Noodles go under bread and cereals. Cheese goes under milk. Broccoli goes, no, it is not a fruit; it goes under vegetables. (She stops writing the menu items under the different categories and says in a soft voice) Please don't be rude to me. Let's count how many of each item we have on our menu today.

Mrs. Winters puts tick marks up on the board in each category as the children tell her each kind of food. She then asks the class if it is a balanced menu. By now, about 10 students out of the 40 are still engaged in the activity. The others are squirming, beginning to talk to each other. Again, she asks the students not to be rude to her. She begins to sing, "Bingo." The students once again give her their attention and enthusiastically sing the song and clap their hands. Once she has their attention, she asks Mrs. Estuvaz's students to go quietly, "like creeping softly on moccasins," to line up at the door to their classroom.

This same calendar lesson was given in Spanish in Mrs. Estuvaz's classroom every other day, the difference, the language. To some, of course, the second-language created interest among the English-speaking students. Whatever the reason, the students of the two classes seemed more engaged when they were doing this lesson in Mrs. Estuvaz's classroom. Even so, it seemed a long time to keep children of this age sitting in restricted spaces.

In a typical day, the early time is spent in teacher-centered learning activities. First in the classroom with their home teacher, then with a specials teacher, where they are asked to sing or draw at their table space, in a chair in a semi-circle, or some form of line in the gymnasium. There was little interaction with other students. It was easy to understand their excitement at recess and lunchtime, where they had more freedom. They were 5-year-olds, fond of imaginative play and other social interactions. But one more obstacle stood before recess. They had to visit the restrooms located in the hallways. The students lined up in their respective classrooms and when silent, are taken into hallways and asked to sit cross-legged or knees-to-their-chest along the hallway wall waiting for their turn in the restrooms and at the drinking fountain. Some had their fingers on their lips to remind themselves to be quiet. Standing in the hallway with Mrs. Estuvaz's class, I watched as the students were sent into the restrooms two and three at a time.

The restroom visit took several minutes. Then, they lined up to travel to the lunchroom. They would be allowed to talk to each other at lunch, if they did not exceed noise limits.

After the lunch period I observed the children at recess on the playground. It was a beehive of intercommunication and shared activity. In was more or less the opposite of their classroom. At the end of the day came a 15-minute classroom play center period, where students were free to play at blocks, play kitchen, drawing areas, and other centers. They were encouraged to communicate in both languages.

After recess, the teachers took small groups of children to an area for guided and shared reading lessons. The students were "leveled," meaning fit into language groups according to their pre-reading and reading skills. I observed a reading class in Mrs. Winter's room where the children were combined with Mrs. Waters' kindergarten class, and were divided into four groups for Mrs. Winters, Mrs. Waters, and two student teachers. Students with higher reading skills were given to the two student teachers. Mrs. Winters and Mrs. Waters took the children with lower skills. Each of the four groups had their own spaces and their own "reading" books. Again, the lessons were teacher-directed, but they were somewhat individualized and child-centered in the way the children were asked to participate.

Most curriculum and instructional choices made by Mrs. Winters and Mrs. Estuvaz seemed to center more on the core curriculum standardization perspective and less on the differentiated standards of the NAEYC (2006). Although both Mrs. Winters and Mrs. Estuvaz showed great care for their students, they choose to set NAEYC advocacies aside to work on standards-based and "research-based" activities, those Mrs. Winters told me would help her students pass future tests.

Mrs. Estuvaz was young and well-educated, speaking Spanish-as-a-First-Language, and an articulate mother of two young girls. She had immigrated to the United States from Panama. She came to her first year of teaching after having been a research assistant for the two professors helping Westview Elementary during the FLAP Grant years. She told me about her professional background.

> Estuvaz: I taught in the Republic of Panama with 10th, 11th, and 12th graders. I was an ESL teacher. I started my degree in bilingual education here in the United States, got married and had to stop taking classes during a high-risk pregnancy. I came back 9 years later to finish the degree. Originally, my major was bilingual education and my minor was Spanish. I did some switching around, but I was always involved with tutoring Spanish and in translating. I have just finished my master's degree in education.

Mrs. Estuvaz became interested in teaching at Westview Elementary when she began doing observations for her graduate studies. She was unsure she would know how to teach at the elementary and kindergarten level, but found her first year going smoothly because of her placement in a kindergarten D-L collaborative team with Mrs. Winters.

> Estuvaz: I think that I have been blessed! I have such a wonderful mentor—Mrs. Winters. Mrs. Winters has done pretty much everything for me. The first thing I asked [when hired at Westview Elementary] was if I was going to have a mentor, if there was going to be a mentor program. They don't! [They do not have a mentor program in the District.] However, they said that the person who was going to be my partner teacher had 27 years of teaching experience—so I said, "I don't need a mentor!"

I was unsure if the the person who hired Mrs. Estuvaz had informed the mentor teacher, Jane Winter, that she would be mentoring a novice teacher as her partner in the collaborative DL team.

> Gilman: She agreed to help you?
>
> Estuvaz: From the beginning. I don't even have to say anything. She has the patience to explain every single detail. And if I don't have it, I feel she is my backbone. I couldn't have done it without someone like her.
>
> Gilman: If there hadn't been someone like her, how would you have managed?

Estuvaz: (She smiles) I would have managed, but not so quickly. I would have taken a lot longer to organize my classroom the way I have it now, with the materials I had. And so, little by little, I would have done it myself, but it would have taken a longer time.

Later, I questioned Mrs. Winters.

Gilman: Did someone ask you to be a mentor? How did it come to pass that you were paired with Mrs. Estuvaz to team teach?

Winters: (Sighing) Well, it helped that I already knew her from her work with [the two professors]. When I found she was a mother of two small children, well, I knew she would be good in this position. She had taught in ESL situations before, so I wasn't really going to be working with a beginner.

None of the teachers chosen to "mentor" new teachers said they had any choice in the matter. They said that there was no official mentoring program in the school district. The veteran teachers were not getting any extra pay for "mentoring" they did nor were they given released time.

One afternoon after observing in Mrs. Winters classroom, I asked her about play center time and if she ever used a project approach with the kindergarteners. It seemed that the imaginary play time was short. I wanted to understand why she only allowed 10 to 15 minutes each day for this activity.

Winters: I worry about the students.

Gilman: Yes, there is a huge range of needs in each of the classrooms I observed. And you feel responsible for meeting all of their needs, I can see this in the way you teach.

Winters: Yes, but, I mean, I worry that they will not have the necessary skills they will need.

Gilman: What do you mean? Could you be talking about the state tests?

Winters: Yes. I worry they will not be able to score well on their tests, not be prepared.

Gilman: (surprised) I have seen much directed instruction during my visits. Does anyone in kindergarten use more investigative and child-centered instruction?

Winters: We used to use the project approach but we only use research-based curriculum and instruction now.

Gilman: (surprised and laughing a little nervously) You can't get any more research-based than the project-approach. Who told you the project-approach was not research-based? There is a ton of research on using the project approach in education, especially with younger children.

Winters: Well, Mr. Huston and I both used to use it but we have discovered it not to be beneficial for preparing them for what they will have on their tests.

I wasn't seeing imaginative play in her classroom because she decided that it did not get students ready for mandated objective tests. When she spoke of "research based," she probably meant that the currently mandated instruction was advertised as the only one that was research based. Staff development about testing was a possible issue. If at one time Mrs. Winters had used the project approach and had given imaginary play more importance in the kindergarten curriculum, what had happened to change her perspective? Why had this seasoned veteran kindergarten teacher changed her mind about using more developmental and constructivist curriculum and instruction to move into a highly teacher-directed and text-book-directed instructional style? Mrs. Winters sat on the school's curriculum committee. What kinds of information had she been given that bend her perspective this way?

She had a Master's Degree in English as a Second Language. This means she almost surely would have been exposed to research claiming that curriculum and instruction for ELLs should be developmentally appropriate and that students should have times during the academic day to practice their languages with others. I wondered about the force was that caused her to place test performance so highly. I decided to raise this concern even more for the remaining observations and interviews.

Miss Blanchard, Special Education Teacher

Susan Blanchard was a first-year teacher in her early twenties. She moved through her self-contained special education classroom with a spring in her step. Her enthusiasm for work with her students and her teaching assistants was easily apparent in my visits to her classroom. She seemed to have an endless supply of energy. In this observation I watched her teach a reading lesson to three students. She asked Juan to read the text from a small booklet she has given him. The other two students have identical books.

Juan:	(Staccato) Chicken. Ran. Over. To. Duck. (pause) Have. You. Seen. My. Book? (pause) I. had. It. In. my. B-ba, b-aa-s (He tries to sound out the word.)
Blanchard:	Basket. [Miss Blanchard tells him the word, and he continues to read without saying "basket." Juan hesitates and stumbles over several other words as he reads. Miss Blanchard provides the words he misses. She then asked the next student, Rachel, to read.
Rachel:	Chicken was w-w-
Blanchard:	Worried. (Rachel does not read in the staccato style of Juan, but does not work as hard at difficult words. When Rachel misses words, Miss Blanchard read them correctly. When it is Steve's turn to read, Miss Blanchard used the same teaching strategy.)

As I watched Miss Blanchard teaching her reading lesson to these three students, I wondered about the coursework and experiences in reading instruction she had had. She was using small-group instruction, but she had but six to eight students in her room at any one time. She explained to me that the three students were on the same or similar AR reading levels, but as a former guided-reading teacher, I judged the students to be on different reading levels. I watched her have these students read sight words on file cards. She told them to "sound it out." I did not observe any other strategies being used to help them decode the words. Sometimes the students read the words correctly, sometimes not. I wondered if there were anyone to mentor her,

to help her teach reading but also help for other things, such as understandings, philosophies, skills, and beliefs the school might want to nurture in a newly hired teacher.

After the reading lesson I asked Miss Blanchard to tell me about her course work in reading instruction, "I didn't really have a reading instruction class. In special education we focused on other things." I asked her if there have been any inservice meetings for learning different ways to teach reading to elementary-aged students. She answered, "There haven't been any inservice meetings the whole time I've been working at Westview Elementary." She said that she had heard of "guided reading" but didn't really know what "guided reading" might be.

Gilman: Is there someone who you see here on a regular basis, a teacher or administrator, who comes to talk to you about what you are doing? A teacher mentor or someone acting as a mentor?

Blanchard: No one meets with me. I'd like to have someone come in and let me know how I am doing. In fact, I don't know how I am doing. No one tells me what things are going well or what things are not going well. I worry that I might not be doing all I need to do for my students.

Gilman: Have you had any meetings with your principal or assistant principal where they come to your room and evaluate your teaching and then meet with you to discuss what happened during that observation? This might include having you set some goals for yourself and their input as to what kinds of things you might try or not use—do you remember doing this something like this?

Blanchard: No one has come into my room for any length of time. Sure, I talk to my principal and assistant principal. They have told me I am doing a good job. And, well, there was one person who came to see me at the beginning of the year and she helped me set my room up and gave me some ideas, and it was great. But, I haven't seen her since.

My observations of Miss Blanchard's classroom were in late April and May, near the end of the school year. My immediate thought at the time was that this was a long time to leave a novice teacher to her own devices, even a teacher as creative and resourceful as Miss Blanchard. After leaving Miss Blanchard's classroom, I headed to Mrs. Jones room to ask if the district or the school had a mentoring program.

Gilman: What does the school district provide in terms of mentors for new teachers?

Jones: We don't have an official mentoring program. One of the superintendents we had began a mentoring program, but he left before it came into practice, and no one in the ten years since has done anything about an official program.

Gilman: There is no one supporting these new teachers here?

Jones: Well, (she shrugs her shoulders) they put new teachers next to veteran teachers and sometimes they put the new teachers into a team-teaching situation. Like Mrs. Estuvaz was placed with Mrs. Winters and Mrs. Baldwin was given Miss Gumm, a first-year teacher, with whom to co-teach. So, I guess you could say that there are unofficial mentors. I was given two teachers to work on my team. Both were hired to teach music and both had no music education background. One had taught in a regular elementary classroom and the other could speak Spanish, but had never taught and had no education background. Both situations were difficult for me as a teacher having my own classes to teach. We were not given any release time to go into their classrooms and help them. And one of the new hires did not want my help. Needless to say, it didn't work out for the one new teacher. There was just too much for her to learn in a short time. I felt badly, but there was little I could do to help either of them teach music given the situation.

Mrs. Jones showed me an old district teachers' handbook that showed that at one time they were trying to develop a mentoring program. The language acquisition director gave me a copy of the School Improvement Plan. Nothing about teacher mentoring was discussed in the plan. I questioned each teacher I spoke with about teacher mentoring. Given the particular language needs of the school, I was puzzled that there was no official mentoring program.

Ms. Cutoga, ESL Teacher Pull-Out Sessions

Mrs. Cutoga was an immigrant to the United States from Guinea. She was one of the teaching assistants with the emergency alternative certification created by the state to support schools having influxes of non-English speaking families migrate into their school communities. Mrs. Cutoga was hired to work with the African immigrant students who used French as their

common language. She spoke French fluently and several tribal languages. She had been called upon to interpret for the school district's administration and teachers from her first days in the district two years ago. While she worked as a teaching assistant/interpreter, she enrolled to obtain teaching certification, taking online and traditional face-to-face classes at an area college. When added to other graduate courses she took earlier, she would become certified. She then would work on a Master's degree. She was a friendly and warm person who hugged her students and friends when she greeted them for the first time each day.

Cutoga: Hello, my friend! (She gives me a tight hug, laughs, and smiles brightly. I can't help but return her smile. Her warmth is contagious.)

Gilman: Hello, Mrs. Cutoga, my beautiful friend! How are you today? Are you ready for me to follow you around?

Cutoga: What? Is that today? Oh, no! I am not ready for you today.

She quickly turned away. I was stunned and wondered if she was serious or if she was kidding with me again. She began teasing me about different things the third day I became acquainted with her. I had learned to cautiously check her intentions. I waited for her to unlock her office door and followed her into the room.

Me: Oh, Sarah! You are teasing me again! (She laughs and turns to me, puts her hands on my shoulders, and says,)

Cutoga: No, Ms. Gilman, I am *not* kidding with you. I know I told you that it would be okay for you to follow me but I really do not want to do this.

Gilman: (I look into her face and see her nervousness. I give her a hug.) Sarah, you do not have to do anything for me if you do not wish to. I am a little disappointed, because I have seen you work with a few of the children, and I have a good deal of respect for what you do with your students. I would have liked to see where you travel to and who your students are and what things you do to help them. It would help me understand the African immigrant students much better.

Cutoga: I know this. (She gives a huge sigh.) Okay, Ms. Gilman. You can come with me today, but only this morning, not this afternoon! (She laughs again.)

She gathered her books and the manipulatives she would need for her lessons that day and put them in a cart. She then began writing on the portable chart/whiteboard for the morning session with an elementary student. “Phonemic Awareness,” then, “short/e/ and long /e/.” Charles, a first grade student, walked into the workspace. He walked to his seat at the rectangular table and sat down facing the white board. Mrs. Cutoga turned from the board as he walked in.

Cutoga: Good morning, Sweet Pea! How are you doing today, Charles?

Charles: (softly, barely audible) I am fine, Mrs. Cutoga. How are you?

Cutoga: Charles, we have a visitor, my friend, Ms. Gilman, is going to watch our lesson today. Okay? (He looks shyly at me and nods his head “yes.”) Okay. Good. Today we will watch for words that have “e” sounds.

She wrote on the whiteboard, “ĕ, ēē, āē.” She was supporting his learning of English, not his tribal language or French. She took out some flash cards with the alphabet letters and pictures of things that have the same beginning sound of that letter. As she laid a card down in front of him, he identified the letter and the sound it made.

Charles: A, ant. B, banana. C, cat. D, dinosaur. E, eye.

Cutoga: I thought you only had one eye. I have two—(she laughs and he smiles.) What is this card?

Charles: A, b, c, d, e, f—it’s f! Flower. (She continues putting the cards down in front of him.) G, grapes. H, hammer.

Cutoga: What do you do with a hammer? (Charles makes a motion with his arm and hand that pantomimes hammering. She puts down the next card.)

Charles: I, igloo.

Cutoga: Do you live in an igloo? (He giggles. She puts the next card down.)

Charles: (To say “k” he repeats the entire alphabet up to the letter “k”.) K, kite.

Cutoga: I love kites, don’t you?

Charles: L, leaf.

Cutoga: Where do you find leaves?

Charles: In the park?

Mrs. Cutoga: Yes, in the park.

When she put down the M card, Charles left his seat to go around the table to where the B card was. He picked the B card up and picked up the M card and put them together to pair monkey with banana. She laughed. I laugh, too. This young boy has been shy. Mrs. Cutoga told me earlier that Charles was conscious of the fact he was not able to speak or manage English as well as his classmates, most of whom speak English as their first language.

Cutoga: Yes, the monkey would probably like to have a banana. You are right, Sweet Pea.

Charles began acting out the letter cards as they were set before him. He got up and moved to parts of the room to better demonstrate the pictures, pointing to the play money tray when the letter was "Q" and saying "outside" for the picture of the sun on the "S" card. When they had gone through the cards, she turned to the whiteboard.

Cutoga: Let's read the date, Wednesday—(she waits for his response as he corrects her)

Charles: No, it's Thursday!

Cutoga: Yes, that's right. It's Thursday. You are so smart! 3. Good. That stands for March. 29. What comes after the month and the day?

Charles: (He points at the year) 2012.

Cutoga: Yes, Sweet Pea! The year, 2012. Good. (She gives him a worksheet on the "e" sounds.) Write your name in the box, nice and clean. (Charles writes his name neatly and then writes the numerical date on the paper, saying each number as he writes it.) Good! Awesome! Let's start together.

The paper had a list of similar looking paired words, all with the "e" sound in them. "Beet/bet, pen/peep, steps/steep, wed/weed, bed/bee, ten/teen, jet/jeep, hen/heed, set/seat." She pointed at

the words as she said them. He listened and circled the words with the long "e" sound. As he finished the paper, Mrs. Cutoga said,

> Cutoga: You are so bright! (Charles beamed back at her.) You can color the pictures for two minutes. (When he finished she wrote, "You rock!" on his paper.) Make sure you pack up your stuff and then line up.

Charles picked up his pencil and the papers he had worked on with Mrs. Cutoga and moved to the door. Mrs. Cutoga grabbed her cart, motioned for me to follow her, and walked Charles back to his classroom on her way to the middle school. We were off, walking quickly to the east doorway toward the middle school and high school.

> Cutoga: I begin my day with Charles and then have three students in the middle school. (She unlocks the door to the middle school hallway. We walk toward the cafeteria where the elevator is located.) Come with me. We have to take the elevator to the second floor.

The middle and high school buildings shared some spaces. The common area where the cafeteria was located was bright with natural light. The office and doors to the auditorium were located off this space. I couldn't help but compare the bright new middle school/high school building to the darker, drearier, older building housing Westview.

> Gilman: This is so beautiful. The middle and high school teachers must love these spaces.

> Cutoga: Yes. This is a beautiful building. I love it here.

We entered the elevator and were up to the second floor in no time. The hallways were wide, carpeted and silent. We walked to a room across from a large airy library. She unlocked the door. She told me to sit by her desk. I sat down. She prepared the whiteboard, writing mathematics problems her students will work on with her help. She not only tutored students in their language lessons, but also in their mathematics work. She told me how some of the students she had at the middle school level do not understand the content from the first grade mathematics books.

Cutoga: It is very sad. But math is done very differently in African countries. My students are lost in the math classes here. [The door opened and a tall boy of about 13 years of age walked into the room. He greeted her in French. She responded in French.]

Arthur: Bonjour, Madame Cutoga! Comment allez-vous aujourd'hui? [*Hello, Mrs. Cutoga! How are you today?]*

Cutoga: Je vais bien, et vous?[I am fine, Arthur. How are you today? Where are Collin and Jennette?]

Arthur: They have to take the test today, remember? They told you yesterday.

Cutoga: Oh, yes! I remember.

She walked back to me and told me she had forgotten that they had told her. It irritates her because she brought manipulatives and planned an activity for all three students involving buying and selling things, like a market. She explained to me that, sometimes her students are kept in their classrooms missing out on lessons with her. Then, the two students walk into the room.

Cutoga: Great! We can do the game!

Jennette and Collin: Bonjour, Madame Cutoga! [Hello, Mrs. Cutoga.]

Cutoga: Come, take your seats here with Arthur. We still have some time to play the game I have for you today.

Arthur: Oh, oh! (When he saw the money tray, his eyes widened and he smiled.) I would be rich! (He laughed.)

Mrs. Cutoga settled the three in front of the whiteboard where they each worked on a math problem. The board has the following written on it:

31	35	30	42	$12	$64	$24	Whole numbers unit place value
x2	x4	x2	x5	x7	x8	x3	hundreds tens ones

Cutoga: I don't like using the money tray manipulatives because the students like to play with them. They don't pay attention to me.

The students finished their multiplication problems at the board and have done each one correctly. She did not ask them what strategies they used to solve the problems. She went through each problem using the process of multiplying columns to show that they had come up with the correct answers. She went to the back of the room and picked up the money tray from the counter. This brought smiles to the students' faces. She walked to the front of the room with the tray and set it on a desk where the three students would have access to it.

Cutoga: This (she points to "$64" in the sixth problem on the whiteboard.) needs to go (She now points at the "8" on the whiteboard) eight times. (She gives Arthur the money tray. He takes the money manipulatives and places them in a pile. How many tens do we need for $64?

Arthur: Ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, sixty. Five.

Cutoga: How many? Count the tens in the pile you made.

Arthur: (He counts the ten-dollar bills.) Oh! Six. There are six of them.

Cutoga: Yes, there are six ten-dollar bills. Be careful when you give your answers. This is why you get so many answers wrong in your work. (The two other students are fidgeting. They aren't engaged in Arthur's problem.)

Cutoga: (To them.) You two need to pay attention. You will be doing your own problems in a minute or so. (She turns back to Arthur.) Now, how many one-dollar bills do you need for this pile? (He counts out four one-dollar bills and places them on the pile.) We are not done yet, are we? No. (She points to the "8" on the whiteboard.) We have to make how many more piles of this amount of money? (Arthur looks puzzled.)

Arthur: Eight?

Cutoga: How many *more* piles do we need to make?

Arthur: Oh! Seven more! Seven.

Cutoga: Yes, seven. So count them out and make those seven piles.

This took time. He got the piles counted out and then counted the entire amount of money he had on the desktop. She assigned a problem to Jennette and Collin and had them to use the money in the tray for working. They begin taking the needed bills out for their problems.

Cutoga: (Speaking to Arthur) Now, tell me, how many tens do you have altogether?

Arthur: There is $480.

Cutoga: How many ten-dollar bills do you have?

Arthur: (He counts his ten-dollar bills.) Forty-eight.

Cutoga: Yes, 48. You already said that this is $480. So write down, (she writes on his paper) "$480 +," what will we need to put next? (Arthur points to his ones pile and she nods her head, "yes.") Good job. Now add these together for your answer.

She pointed at the space after the "$480 + " on his paper. Arthur finished counting the bills and wrote "$32" on his paper. He added. She turned to help the other students who were using the same method as Arthur to solve their problems.

Arthur: It is $512!

Cutoga: Very good. (The students finished as the bell rang. They quickly put the bills back in the tray and got up to leave.) So, you do your homework and I'll see you. You were smart today!

She gathered her materials and put them in her cart, then motioned to me to follow her. I followed to the library where she met with her next student, Earnest. I sat near the round table. She set out her papers and workbooks and we waited for Earnest to come to his tutoring session. The lesson would be about grouping, much the same as the lesson for the other students. She tried to engage him in some conversation about the money counting, but he was not very interested.

Cutoga: I know you are hungry now, but we only have a few more minutes and then you can go to lunch. (She turns to me and says,) This is the only time we could schedule Earnest into a session and he gets hungry near the middle. (She turns back to Earnest) Do you want some snack, Earnest? Here. I brought something for you.

She put some peanut butter crackers on the table for him. He picked up the small pack of crackers, opened it and began to eat, thanking her. They worked together on the lesson. She was

leading the lesson, directing him in finding the answers, just as she did in the other sessions I observed. It was remedial-styled teaching, working with the students to bring them up to par with their classmates.

Mrs. Cutoga's advantages with her ESL students, were her own experience as an immigrant from Guinea and her knowledge of the various social, cultural, and linguistic differences among the African immigrant students. Most of her students spoke French as their common language, and she was able to explain content and vocabulary to them. Her job, as in many of the Title One grant-funded positions, was to help students smoothly assimilate into the dominant culture and language. She was at least somewhat aware of various educational perspectives, including those that focus on social justice, but she viewed her job as helping her students succeed in this new, English-speaking and challenging reality, the USA. Her teaching reflected what she believed to be necessary, a very teacher- and curriculum-directed style of teaching. She did not veer much from the district curriculum. I was careful when I asked her about her materials. She had been hesitant to show her teaching to me, afraid perhaps that I would find fault with what she chooses for instruction. My observations of her work showed her to be extremely protective of her charges, caring about their experiences at school and at home. She was doing what she understood she should do. She was sensitive to their needs and to how they were being treated at school as well as in the community at-large. She did not voice her work as being a combination of two agendas, standardization and social justice, but these two perspectives were both present in her daily teaching.

The Title One Team: Mrs. Fleck and Mrs. Cartwright and Assistants

It was quiet in the hallways at 7:40 a.m.— few teachers were present and the few students who have arrived were in the larger cafeteria having breakfast or waiting for school to begin. It was extremely quiet. I arrived with one of the teaching assistants. We had a short conversation about the cold weather and icy conditions. The Title One clerk was out at the student drop-off lane overseeing student arrivals. Mrs. Fleck and Mrs. Cartwright greeted me as I entered the Title One area. I asked them if they were paid extra for before-school sessions. They smiled as they told me "no." They were busy gathering the materials they would need and placing them into the required individual student-standing files. At 7:40, the first students began to arrive, with light bantering among teachers and students. The students moved routinely to workplaces and got busy with their assignments without having to be directed to do so. These third through fifth graders knew that they must first go to the computer stations and then meet with Mrs. Fleck or Mrs. Cartwright for the individualized phonics, vocabulary, comprehension, or fluency language lessons set by their tier two or intervention needs. Julia, a slender, soft-voiced girl of 10 years, approached Mrs. Fleck. She was the first student to arrive.

Julia: I missed you over winter break, Mrs. Fleck. These are my new boots. (Julia rocks both of her feet back and forth and turns them to show each side to Mrs. Fleck.)

Fleck: I missed you, too, Julia. Did you get those boots for Christmas?

Mrs. Fleck listened to Julia tell about her winter break, then quietly, Julia moved toward the computers area, sat down, and logged into the "Spencer Learning, Ultimate Phonics Reading Program" and began work. Mrs. Fleck drifted to her workstation table, sat down and pulled the worksheets and books she would use with her students. Two Hispanic students arrived and sat with the Hispanic teaching assistant at her station. The students were eating school-prepared breakfasts as the assistant conversed with them in Spanish and English. Mrs. Cartwright

welcomed two girl students. The girls moved to the computers and began their program. Julia finished her computer work and walked to Mrs. Cartwright's workstation. The two began working on phonics using a lesson from a phonics curriculum book.

Cartwright: Here is the work I want you to begin. (She gives Julia a work page and Julia begins reading and writing answers, working silently. Mrs. Cartwright sits next to Julia at her workstation, showing her a page in a wire bound book of phonics learning activities. Julia looks at it.) We've done this before, Julia. Do you need me to explain it, or do you remember? We are going to look for antonyms. Do you remember what an antonym is?

Julia: I remember.

Cartwright: What is an antonym? Would you remind me? (Julie explains that it is a word that has the opposite meaning of another word.) Good. Let's begin. Look at number one. The word is "quiet." Can you tell me which of the words is the antonym for "quiet?"

Julia: (Julia looks at the four choices, "silent," "large," "noisy," and "quite.") Noisy?

Cartwright: Yes. That's correct. "Noisy" has the opposite meaning to "quiet." You did a good job remembering what an antonym is.

Julia smiled. Mrs. Cartwright asked her to look at the second word, "dark." The word choices are: "black," "sunny," "scary," and "bright." Julia again chose the correct answer. They moved through the page looking at the words and the choices. with about five or six questions on each of two pages. Sometimes, Mrs. Cartwright clarified a word's meaning for Julia. Julia was making many correct choices. I turned my focus to Mrs. Fleck's workstation where two students, a boy who was finding it difficult to sit still, and a girl who had been given some work pages she read and answered silently. She sat bent over her work. Mrs. Fleck was watching her work and gently pointed to an answer.

Fleck: Are you sure about this answer? Does this say what you mean to say?

The girl sat up looking at her paper. She nodded her head "no," her eyes opened wide as she saw what she missed. She erased part of her answer and then wrote in the word she had forgot. The boy had been bantering with Mrs. Fleck, a little loudly, but confidently and in a way that showed he thought of Mrs. Fleck as a friend, not just a teacher asking him to do work he was little interested in. She allowed him the banter, but was steadfast in asking him to finish his work. The boy had been asking her to spell various words for him. She had been telling him to sound out the words and not to depend on her,

Fleck: (To the girl) In the title, we capitalize most of the words

Fleck: (To the boy) I am not going to be with you when you have your test. You need to learn how to spell some of these words. (She walks to her desk and pulls out a piece of paper, and then walks back to the workstation.) Here! Have a cheat sheet, Boy.
(The boy laughs and takes the piece of paper with the words he was supposed to know how to spell correctly and looks for the last word he asked her to spell for him. He is enjoying his time with her. She points to the boy's paper and asks him to read what he had written. He reads.

Boy: Do you wonder about volcanoes?

Fleck: Is it a question?

Boy: Yes.

Fleck: So, you would use a question mark.

Boy: (The boy smiles and sits dancing in his seat.) Oh, yeah! (He makes a question mark at the end of the sentence. The boy and girl are focused on work for a few minutes. Mrs. Fleck points to the boy's worksheet.)

Fleck: He picked up several things—a tackle box, and what else? (The boy silently reads the story, his face showing concentration. After a few seconds of his reading, Mrs. Fleck points at his written answer.) What do you think's wrong with that one?

The boy erases his answer and writes another that he has given more thought to. Mrs. Fleck seems happier with his new answer. He goes back into playful mode of work. Mrs. Fleck smiles as he begins working on his next worksheet question. She turned to the girl.)

Fleck: What must the librarian know in order to help you?

The girl stops her writing, tilts her head to the side and reads through the passage on her worksheet. Then she puts her pencil at the answering space and writes, "What kinds of books there are, like, history, fiction, and biographies."

Mrs. Fleck continues to help both the boy and the girl, even though the two students are working on two different readings and worksheets. The students were receiving a great deal of support. It seemed to help them keep their focus. Perhaps it also helped them understand the skills and concepts assigned. It was interesting to note that Mrs. Fleck was reading everything upside down during the lesson.

At Mrs. Cartwright's station, she worked with a girl on the pluralizing rule of replacing "y" with "ies." She checked through the girl's worksheet, where the girl had corrected mistakes in provided sentences.

Cartwright: If you have a word ending in "y", and there is more than one of that thing, the plural needs the "y" replaced by "ies." Other than that, the rest are good. Okay, we have some "L" words here. Let's see how many of them you can read in two minutes.

Mrs. Cartwright hands the girl a paper that has questions created with several words spelled incorrectly and where all the words begin with the letter "L." She gives the girl the start signal, and the girl begins circling the correctly spelled words. They have done this before. Mrs. Cartwright watches the stopwatch as the girl chooses word after word. The student is not hurrying, and seems to struggle over some of the words. After two minutes, Mrs. Cartwright stops her.

Cartwright: Good. You are getting better at this. (The girl smiles at her.)

Later in the day I sat at the back of the Title One room where the Hispanic teaching assistant was working with three ESL Spanish-as-the-first-language first grade students. The two

boys were active; the girl sat curled over worksheets diligently working. The boys bounced up and down even while working on their activity sheets. The teaching assistant was patiently directing their work and did not seem to mind that the boys moved around a great deal. They responded to her questions. When she asked them to write some words on the chart-sized whiteboard, they happily took the dry markers and wrote. The lesson was in Spanish. The worksheets were in Spanish. The three students were getting remediation in their heritage language. They were enrolled in the dual-language program and at the first grade level, as it is at the kindergarten level, the language learning emphasis is on the heritage language of the students. The worksheets have "Libro de recursos para el maestro TABLERO DE LETRAS Y SONIDOS" at the bottom of each page, identifying the curriculum program. Pages 45, 46, 59 and 60 have the letters and sounds of "Ff, Gg, Rr and Ss" and are the lesson content for their Title One session today.

Velez: Vamos a poner la letra de la página 45 en nuestra pizarra. [*Let's put the letter of page 45 on our whiteboard*.] (She writes the letters "Ff" on the whiteboard and says:) ¿Qué palabras podemos escribimos bajo esta carta? [F. *What words can we write under this letter?*]

The children raise their hands. One of the boys, Juan, jumps up out of his seat shaking his hand furiously hoping to be called upon to write his word on the whiteboard.

Velez: Juan, vienen escribir su palabra aquí. [Juan, come write your word here.] (Juan moves quickly to the board, takes the marker and writes "fruta.")

Velez: Sí, buena! La fruta es una palabra que comienza con la letra F y utiliza el sonido de F. [*Yes, good! Fruit is a word that begins with the letter F and uses the sound of F*.]

Ricardo: Foca! Escriba foca. [*Foca! Write foca*.]

Mrs. Velez: ¿Cómo escribe la palabra, "foca"? [*How do we write the word, "foca*"?]

Students: [F] (She writes the F), [O] (she writes the O), [C] (she writes the C), [A] (she writes the A).

Velez: Foca. Se trata de una buena palabra para esta lista. Vamos a poner otra lista en el tablero. Vamos a poner aquí Gg y encontrar algunas palabras que podemos incluir en esta lista, también. [*Foca. This is a good word for this list. Let's put another list on the board. Let's put Gg here and find some words we can put on this list, too.*]

She writes "Gg" on the board at the other side of the whiteboard. The students get markers and go up to write words on the Gg list. Taking turns writing words, they go back to their worksheets to find other words.

Velez: Muy bueno, Yasmin. Girafa tiene una F sonido aquí. (she circles the "f" in jirafa). [*Very good, Yasmin. Girafa has an F sound here.*]

The lesson continued as they found more Ff and Gg words. It had lasted about 20 minutes. They did not get to the letters R or S, although Juan had asked to write some R and S words.

Velez: Juan, hacemos R y listas de palabras de S mañana. Traer esas palabras mañana. [Juan, we will make R and S word lists tomorrow. Bring those words tomorrow.]

The students cleaned up their work area, putting the markers in the designated basket and skipped over to line up with the other Title One students, readying themselves for the walk back to their classrooms.

Title One Parent Involvement and Volunteer Coordinator: Mrs. Sofia Taylor

Taylor: We have weekly English classes for parents every Wednesday morning in the public library. I think you should come and see what we are doing there this week.

Mrs. Taylor was a soft-spoken woman who, when I first met her, invited me to come to the International Day committee meeting to hear about the huge two-elementary-school event organized each year. When she heard me fiddling for the students in the lunchroom, she asked if I could play Irish music for the International Day. I told her I would be happy to, and actively participated in the committee meetings from January until mid-March when the Day was held.

She regularly suggested events, activities, and programs where I could see aspects of the school's parent and community involvement. I often sat with Mrs. Taylor discussing parent involvement that she and others arranged as the Title One Parent Involvement/Volunteer Coordinator for the school. She, as well as the music teacher, Mrs. Jones, and the Director of Language Acquisition, Mr. Huston, were the people who introduced me to the teachers, staff, and community members, making it easier for me to make inquiries. They chatted with me about people and happenings in the community, explained some of the political decisions and some of the projects the city had been involved in, and identified the better restaurants. These three people were important in my learning about the school and the community in a short period of time. I told Mrs. Taylor I would go to the Wednesday English for Immigrant Parents meeting the next day.

Spending the night in town with one of my new friends made it easier to attend the 8:00 a.m. English lessons at the library the next morning. It was a relatively small, brick, and modern looking new library. The parking lot had around 30 spaces, with all of them filled by 7:45 a.m. when I arrived for my observation. I parked my vehicle across the street and around the corner and walked the short distance to the building.

The sun was out, and as I walked into the library entryway, natural light from skylights and long wall windows warmed the colder fluorescent recessed lighting from the ceiling. The library smelled new. I could see new tables and chairs, a service counter, and the tall and short bookshelves in wood tones. In the entryway was a small meeting room where one section of the class was getting ready to begin. Mrs. Taylor came to greet me, smiling.

Taylor: You made it! Great! The sessions are about to begin. There's one in this classroom and the other session is out at the tables on the other side of the library. You might want to take a look at the children's library, too. We have a person who watches children for the parents while they attend the classes.

I thanked her and slipped into a seat in the small classroom just as the teacher began her lesson. I looked around the room and saw several Hispanic men and women of different ages sitting at long rectangle tables. The French-speaking immigrants, I was informed, were in the other session. There were 13 adult students and Mrs. Davis. She introduced herself, and explained that she was the retired preschool teacher and part-time principal of the city's prekindergarten school. She and another retired teacher had volunteered to teach language to immigrant parents. I explained I have been invited by Mrs. Taylor, and that I looked forward to seeing parent and community programs connected to Westview Elementary School. She turned to the class and began her lesson. She then introduced me to the adults as someone doing a study at Westview Elementary who wanted to sit in on the two sessions. The students indicated I was welcome.

Davis: Does everyone have a book? (The students indicate they do.) Good. I was afraid we wouldn't have enough of them because this class is larger than we usually get in here.

She smiled and shook her head, bouncing her silver, ear-length hair. She was a lively teacher, with lots of energy. She picked up her book and looked around the room.

Davis: Would anyone like to volunteer to read?

No one volunteers. She smiles and gives a little laugh. George, a Hispanic man of about 45 years of age, looked around the room and then raised his hand and said,

George: Ok. I can read first.

He spoke English well, and he read well. I wondered why he was in this class. They were reading a kindergarten level book called, *Peg's Egg*. It was an extremely easy read, and none of the volunteers have difficulty reading it. But I noticed that two of the women did not volunteer. When they spoke, it was in broken English, as we say. I realized that some of the people there probably could not read this simple book. I also realized that some of the readers could read more challenging material. Mrs. Davis took the opportunity to explain differences in how words

in American English are pronounced differently than in the Spanish language. I saw that using the kindergarten readers might have an advantage here.

Davis: This may be confusing to some of you. We have a "g" that can make a softer "ja" sound and we have a "g" that makes a harder, harsher "ga" sound.

Some of the women giggled. Mrs. Davis responded.

Davis: I know! It makes that horrible throat gurgling noise that you find hard to listen to. It may be hard for you to make that sound, and it may sound funny as you make it, but try to do it, because it makes a difference.

She smiled broadly and moved back to listen to the next volunteer reader. When the story was finished, she said:

Davis: Please, continue to practice reading English out loud. You need to practice saying the words and get to know them by sight, not just by sounding them out aloud.

They continued to practice reading as I slipped out to visit the other group in the library. This group was made up all of French-speaking African immigrants. The instructor was another retired teacher, Mrs. Bingham. With her, interpreting as she spoke was an African teaching assistant, Rudy, from the high school. He had been released from morning duties to work with this parent/community project. These 14 adult-students were gathered in front of the portable whiteboard taking notes as the teacher and interpreter spoke to them. She was teaching a lesson on shopping online and in area stores.

Bingham: If you need to take an item back to the store—like if you get it home and it doesn't fit the person you bought it for or something like this.

Rudy: *Si vous avez besoin de reprendre un élément dans le magasin—comme si vous l'obtenez maison et il ne tient pas la personne vous l'avez acheté pour ou quelque chose comme ça.*

Bingham: If it is a sale, you may not be able to return it.

Rudy: *Si c'est une vente, vous peut-être pas en mesure de le retourner.*

Bingham: If it is a sale, you may not be able to return it. Nes pas?

Bingham: If you shop or do your banking online, you must first be very certain that this (she writes, "http" on the board) is in the website address bar. This tells you that the site is secure and safe for you to use it.

Rudy: *Si vous magasinez ou faire vos opérations bancaires en ligne, vous devez tout d'abord être très certain que agit dans la barre d'adresse de site Web. Cela vous indique que le site est sûr et sécuritaire pour vous de l'utiliser.*

Mrs. Bingham and Rudy went on to explain that stores are set up to market their merchandise, not to look out for you as consumers. They also discussed how coupons may not always be good to use, because the consumer may use a different product that they like better or that might cost them less. Every one of the adult students took notes and seemed interested. I looked up as Mrs. Taylor motions to me. I left the class session to walk to the children's library.

Taylor: I thought you should come and see this area and meet the babysitter before the parents pick up their children. We usually have more children here on Wednesdays. Today there are only three. We have had as many as 10.

The babysitter was a young woman. She was watching a lively toddler as he played with some blocks on the carpet. One child, a 4-year-old boy was sitting at a table coloring pictures. A 4-year-old girl, sat at another table looking at picture books, telling herself the stories. This part of the library had thick plate-glass windows separating it from the main library area. It could get noisy in this room and not disturb the main library spaces. I asked Mrs. Taylor about who paid for the program.

Taylor: Title One pays for the childcare and the two instructors volunteer their time every Wednesday. The two teaching assistants are allowed to come during their workday as part of their teaching duties.

This potentially important parent program, although short, was not expensive. The teachers volunteered their services, the Title One grant paid for the babysitter's 2 ½ hours, and the school released the two teaching assistants, one Hispanic and one French-speaking African.

Learning and Teaching at Westview Elementary School

The examples in this and the proceeding chapter show that learning and teaching at Westview Elementary School were complex. As at all U.S. schools, all the students were English language learners. But the ranges of readiness and practice were large. And the background languages were many. And most of the teachers had little experience in teaching languages to anyone. Many English as a Second Language Learners attended the school, and so many had different languages and dialects. Even with many teachers and staff members working overtime to support English language acquisition, the diversity was so large that it forced teachers to narrow down to what they could manage. The core curriculum pushed them toward one way of simplification, but many were unable to see how standardization could help engage the diversity of students.

There were also several language and educational learning perspectives in play at Westview Elementary School, and given the diversity of the student population of the school, there were bound to be issues, especially if we looked at what current research defines as a dual-language program with its vision of whole-school involvement. In the next chapter the main themes I identified throughout my study will be used further to study the plight of the dual language program at Westview.

Chapter 5 provided detail on the teaching, the classrooms, the community from a small number of encounters. I visited these sites repeatedly over a 9-month period. Much of the time I spent watching and pondering, trying to locate what was called the Dual-Language program. Some of the ingredients were apparent inside Dual Language classrooms, but a program is more than what is happening in individual classrooms. My experience is the bridge, the ethnographic experience, my effort to triangulate my writing, my interpretations and my findings. The job was

made easier because I found little contradiction to what I conclude in Chapter 7. But a reader wanting better proof of program enervation will be left disappointed

Chapter 6

The Issues of Perspective, Support for Teachers, and State Requirements

Educators and community members from the district and surrounding areas called the dual-language program "innovative." The various social philosophies within and surrounding Westview's dual-language program are intertwined with the notion of the program being innovative.

An Innovation. The word, "innovative," can be defined either as "to invent or to begin to apply," methods or ideas used elsewhere. The social philosophies and the curricular and instructional ideas and concepts I found as I spent time with the people in Perkins and the teachers of Westview, have been around for decades. So, why did the school, area educators and community members view the program as innovative? The dual-language teachers who had been hired after the program began came into it, for the most part, understanding their purpose and what a dual-language program should include. It wasn't new to Mrs. Martinez, who had been a bilingual teacher in other schools. The teachers who initiated the program in the early 2000s though, found the new ideas new stimulative, and decided it was what the community needed to bring their ELLs into the community in socially, culturally and linguistically responsive ways. In the beginning, the dual-language program was quite new to the citizens of Perkins and to many of the Westview teachers. Those not initially involved were somewhat apprehensive of the programs' philosophy, curriculum content and instructional styles, especially since the dual-language advocates had proposed that the whole school be dual-language. Various levels of contention between the dual-language educator advocates and those who did not desire having a dual-language program, was apparent from its inception. The few people who desired the dual-language teaching situation while building their own knowledge and skills as dual-language

teachers, were also having to present convincing arguments to community members and the district administration as to why a dual-language program would be advantageous to the Perkins School District. Like many others who propose innovations, the dual-language program initiators were up against strong opposition.

Implementation. Cloud, Genesee and Hamayan (2000, p. 25) suggest using certain steps to develop and implement a dual-language or multi-literacy program. The authors state (repeated in Chapter 2) the steps as: (a) Establish a spearhead group to officially represent the program; (b) Contact and establish a relationship with a higher education organization to develop information packets for community members, school board members, teachers, and administrators; (c) Contact schools in the area who have like programs; (d) Set-up meetings with the school superintendent and school board members where dual-language experts present and answer questions; (e) Begin discussions with community members about dual-language programs and the benefits to the community; (f) Speak to school board members individually; (g) Set up meetings with community members and parents of potential students of the dual-language program; (h) Involve the teachers of foreign languages and ESL/bilingual teachers of the district, even if they are not going to be involved with the program. They too are invested in the program's succeeding; and (i) Involve the person who directs the program dealing with instructional programs for minority students. These suggestions were used by the "spearhead group" until the school board gave their consent for program implementation at Westview Elementary School.

Perkins Isolation. We need to remember several things as we agree that these suggestions were carried out. First, Perkins is a rural community, and (a) No "nearby" schools had dual-language programs. The nearest programs were located in cities several hours from the

school site; (b) The district didn't have much money to operate, let alone implement, a dual-language program; (c) The superintendent at the time the "spearhead group" was lobbying for a dual-language program, was a short-term and interim superintendent and although he did help to initiate the program, he was not to be present to provide long-term support; and (d) Perkins had long been recognized as a White, conservative, monolinguistic community and had once been listed as one of the country's "sundown towns" (in James Loewen's 2005 book.). At the bottom of the resistance there might have been the wish to keep Perkins as it had been for generations, a monocultural, monoracial, monoliterate community. As one teacher who had grown-up in Perkins and returned there to teach and raise her own family commented, "Perkins used to be a such a good place to live. I had a wonderful childhood here. We never locked our doors, worried about gang violence, and everyone knew each other. Our families knew each other. It's not the same here today. Everything has changed." This teacher was one of the teachers the advocates convinced to join the dual-language program. She left the program though, becoming a general education teacher at the time of my study.

Westview teachers within and without the dual-language circle struggled with the stated philosophy of the dual-language program, with its strong social justice, biliteracy orientation, and valuing of marginalized students for their culture and language. No teacher intimated keeping minority students "in their place"; they all felt a need to improve all of their students' lives, but the biliteracy thread struck nerves—there is strong advocacy for monoliteracy in the United States (Beeman & Urow, 2013; Paciotto & Delaney-Barmann, 2011; Valdes, 2001). The dual-language program advocates had considerable impediments to overcome in order to implement and to sustain a school program with the ideals, concepts and instructional practices such as the one they proposed.

These impediments need further consideration when viewing Westview's dual-language program as an innovation. Educational change rarely takes place if only given access to new information, concepts, or procedures. This may be so because of the particular situations where the new ideas and practices are used. Also, the new ideas may be perceived a number of ways by those located in different educational sites (Bruce, Peyton & Batson, 1993). People initiating educational change may find themselves up against a well-established wall—a "functioning social system and traditional practices," that change agents run into during all stages of a program innovation. The authors explain that initiators of change may find they are "challenged with the task of resolving conflicts between old practices" that become "powerful situational constraints" and new ideas, practices, and information. Many times educational innovations, such as Westview's dual-language program, will meet resistance from administrators, teachers, parents and other community members and so there must be other structures in place for the innovation to get its foothold and then to sustain it over time.

Barriers. There was strong resistance towards the program from Perkins school staff and other community members at its inception. New Schools Venture Fund administrator, Kim Smith (2009), asserts that there are three barriers to innovations in education. The first barrier on Smith's list corresponds with what Bruce, Peyton and Batson (1993) called "powerful situational constraints." Smith calls it "Traditional political and structural arrangements in education." Smith shares a similar observation with Bruce, Peyton and Batson in that they both say innovations usually face resistance from educators and other community members who see the innovation taking the place of their cherished practices and or purposes.

Smith lists two other barriers restricting innovation: (b) Market dynamics and incentives do not promote innovation. Large textbook companies drive curriculum (and instructional

design) using Federal and State core standards and teacher-directed materials. The smaller curricular publishing companies that might have other materials, such as child-centered and developmental instructional materials, lose access. The publishers employ consultants to tout their products, dismissing teacher background knowledge and instructional styles grounded in experience with situations such as Westview Elementary School's large ELL population. This type of marketing does not allow for innovations of teaching and learning and teacher entrepreneurialism. Smith also recognized that funding opportunities for innovative programs are difficult to find; and (c) The research and development cycle in education is broken, creating disconnects across practice, research, development, and investment, which in turn inhibits the ability to create innovations to scale.

This last barrier can be seen when teachers are struggling in their classrooms to include such teaching and learning styles as child-centered instruction and the project approach. Students involved in this kind of instruction create their own investigations, either alone, in small groups or as a whole class. Many skills and much content is studied in a holistic manner. Consultant recommended preplanning is somewhat impractical—the teacher may not know where the investigation may lead. Child centered teaching lies counter to what is required by the State or district and adopted curriculum or core standards. The prototypical dual-language program expects teacher reflection and child-centered learning activities, all a part of research and development, but this process breaks down when "situational impediments" (such as standardized curriculum by State policy makers or restrictions when a school district requires teachers to use only district-adopted textbooks for their curriculum and instruction) are placed upon program participants.

The Business of Education

Despite Smith calling education an industry and using business language, rankling some educator sensibilities, education does include business operations in its daily functions. Entrepreneurialism is a business term, now being used in an educational movement involving teacher initiative and innovative practices. Some parts of the United States' educational system are based in business and accounting and necessary for the practical and physical reality of the operations of schools. Psychometric research and data collection, including psychometric assessments that compare student skills and knowledge to others in their age level are a part of what educators expect and need in education to understand what students need, how they have grown and developed, and for spotting inconsistencies in a student's development. Considering the business-like aspects of an innovative program like Westview Elementary School's dual-language program when attempting to understand the completeness of the programs is a necessity.

Many of the ideas and concepts that were foundational to Westview's dual-language program were not new. It was different from what the Perkins community schools had done in the past, mostly because they had not had non-English speaking students enrolled in their schools in the past. Many in the community and schools considered multi-cultural and multi-lingual issues something that only large U.S. cities had to consider, not their small, rural community. When the non-English immigrants began to settle in Perkins and to enroll their children in the schools, it was not only a cultural adjustment for those new students, but a cultural, linguistic, and educational shock for the teachers and school administrators as well. As Mrs. French, a former Westview principal said, "We were pulling individuals off the street to work as interpreters and teaching assistants. I asked an Hispanic grandfather I met in one of our parks and

who had grandchildren enrolled in our school, if he would like to come and work as a teaching assistant at my school. We were desperate to find people to help us with our ELL students." The district took advantage of the State's new alternative certification program and hired several "emergency" certified teachers, including Mr. Huston, then a kindergarten teacher, now the Director of Language Acquisition. It was evident to Perkins' educators that they needed to change in order to accommodate the newcomers. The dual-language advocates believed they had a way to support their ELLs and also to add a life skill to those students already part of the culture and language of the Perkins community. The few teachers and the one administrator pursued their ideals passionately, energetically, and pragmatically. They invested themselves entirely into seeing that the dual-language program became a reality. They were public relations officers trying to convince school board members, administrators, other teachers, parents and other community members to support their efforts.

The change agents seemed well armed and prepared for their argument to implement a dual-language program at Westview. They had been to several conferences on bilingualism, were in contact with experts in the State's bilingual/ESL professional organizations who had been through the process of initiating dual-language programs and were experts in the field, and they were in contact with the two area professors who were supportive of their efforts. Once they were given official permission from the school board, the teachers began to collaborate, working at scheduling, finding times to share, reflect, and improve their creation.

One of the first writings the Westview dual-language teachers used was the textbook authored by Cloud, Genesee, and Hamayan (2000). It was a guide for program development. In the text, the authors listed and explained nine features essential to implementing and sustaining

dual-language programs.[11] Some of these features, such as the fourth feature—the program being developmental in terms of curriculum and instruction and in staff development, the fifth feature—dealing with child-centered instruction, and the sixth feature—where language instruction was integrated with challenging academic instruction, were stronger than the others, but by 2003, the program had elements from each of the nine essential features in its constitution.

Leadership

In 2006, dual-language had strong leadership in Susan Black as its director, and support from the school principal and superintendent. Black wrote their FLAP proposal and administered the grant funds. She invited all of the Westview teachers to the dual-language inservice workshops. She coached the dual-language teachers, she made sure they had common planning time so that the teachers had ample chance to collaborate, to share what they were doing with their students, to give support to each other as they worked to develop their program's curriculum and assessments. She was the strongest advocate in the district for the dual-language teachers and the program. She worked with the other district administrators to insure that the program would receive the support it needed.

The importance of educational leadership in implementing curriculum, instructional styles, parent involvement, the school's vision or purpose and other aspects of education has been researched for decades. The third of the nine critical features in the Cloud, Genesee and

[11] The Cloud, Genesee, & Hamayan list of nine essential features is found in the literature review and are: (1) Parent involvement is an integral part of the program; (2) The program has high standards; (3) Principals and teachers demonstrate strong leadership on behalf of the program; (4) The program is developmental in terms of developmentally appropriate curriculum and instruction and long-term goals such as curriculum, instruction, materials, professional development, space requirements, and other important resources; (5) Instruction is student-centered; (6) Language instruction is integrated with challenging academic instruction; (7) Instructional personnel are reflective; (8) The program is integrated with other school programs and schools; and (9) The program aims for additive bilingualism.

Hamayan (2000, p. 9) list is that leadership from principals and teachers be strong in respect to demonstrating support for the program. Educators today know that much of what happens in a school depends largely upon leadership—the superintendents, the principals, and to some extent, the teacher-leaders (for example, grade level chairs, union representatives, parent-involvement liaisons, etc.) and classroom teachers.

Three studies (Kam, Greenberg & Walls, 2003; Yuen, Law & Wong, 2003; Alanís & Rodríguez, 2008), featuring three different kinds of program innovations, conclude that leadership was a key factor in implementation and sustenance of those programs.

A comparison and experimental study done by Kam, Greenburg and Walls in 2003, looked at the effectiveness of a delinquency intervention program in an American urban community involving 350 first grade public school students. The researchers studied six schools with three using the locally designed program, "Promoting Thinking Skills Curriculum" as a major component while the other three schools did not implement the program. Although they were not able to find intervention effects at all of the schools where the program was implemented, their study did suggest two findings that contributed to the program's success—"adequate support from school principals and a high degree" of program implementation by the teachers involved with the program. As stated before, strong, on-going leadership from principals and teacher s is seen as necessary in implementing and then in developing and sustaining an educational program in a school setting. That leadership was difficult to find in Westview.

In Yuen, Law and Wong's (2003) study of information and communication technology (ICT) program implementation in the Hong Kong schools, the researchers' findings concurred with Bruce, Peyton and Batson (1994) and Smith (2009) in that a schools' implementation of a

program is highly situational. They state that how the program is designed, implemented and sustained is strongly dependent upon the school leaders' vision and understanding, particularly of the role the program takes regarding the curriculum. According to Yuen, Law and Wong, the leadership needs to consider the "history, culture and background of the school and its general vision and mission."

In a study of a successful dual-language program that was recognized as strong for more than 10 years, Alanís and Rodríguez (2008) conclude that knowledgeable leadership was a major factor. On page 315 of the authors article, they explain how the principal advocated the school's dual language program by keeping current with research on dual-language programs and biliteracy and multi-literacy, and that she was seen by the teachers in her school as knowledgeable and supportive of the program. The principal included teachers, parents and community members in the original designing of the program and the on-going development of the program, all the while strengthening the community's commitment to the program. The participants told the researchers that the principal kept open connections to other district administrators and networked across the state with other administrators having dual-language programs. She sought out university experts to work collaboratively with program staff members. She sought creative ways to fund needed inservices for keeping staff current in their dual-language orientation as well as state-required expectations. The principal hired teachers who could teach within the program's features and who had the same or similar educational vision. The two researchers used statements from teachers and other participants that made it clear that this principal's influence and support of the program was a major factor in its success. They conclude by saying that, with the continuing growth of ELLs in our schools, and with the changes in Federal and State policies, it takes commitment from administrators to work with

parents, teachers, community members and other administrators and people involved in the dual-language program who "understand the process of bilingualism and the nature of schooling language-minority children."

As I came to understand Westview's dual-language program, I observed the dual-language teachers pragmatically continuing their work in the program they had at one time collaborated in developing. The superintendent who had been supportive of the program had retired and was no longer involved its support. The current superintendent seemed consumed with budgeting and the AWS status (and State auditors). He referred my questions to Mr. Huston, saying he could "tell me anything I needed to know about the dual-language program and the immigrant students." He hailed Mr. Huston as the one who "straightened out the paperwork to keep the district in-line with the State ELP/ELL requirements." The principal who had supported the program with the initial group of teachers was semi-retired and had duties at another school site. She rarely visited Westview Elementary School and had little contact with the dual-language program and its teachers. The Westview principal during my study had hired some experienced bilingual teachers who became stellar in Westview's dual-language program. However, many of the almost twenty teachers in the program did not view her as supportive or knowledgeable. She too deferred to the assistant principal, Mr. Huston.

I observed Mr. Huston in conversation with dual-language teachers, parents, other teachers and staff throughout my time at the school. He was in the halls, in the classrooms, in the main office and in his office with others, constantly on-the-move. He was responsive to my questions and observations. I could see why the dual-language teachers viewed him as their leader. Yet, he had little control over what was necessary for sustaining the program, such as

staff development budgeting, and moving toward help for the African children. I found him highly knowledgeable of dual-language, bilingual and ESL concepts and practices.

Huston may have had no choice other than to place the African immigrant students in the general education classrooms. He told me he had selected for them general education teachers who were understanding of the ELL student, but he could not obtain enough teachers certified in ESL or Bilingual education. He stated, "Perkins is just too isolated. It's difficult to get teachers to come here and teach." Huston told me that the school had "no culture" and wouldn't have until the climate changed. He was referring to community preferences for monoliteracy versus multiliteracy. Many would say that these differences of purpose for education *were* a dominant part of the culture of the school.

Assimilation, Acculturation, Monoliteracy, and Biliteracy/Multiliteracy

In the case of Westview Elementary School's dual-language program, the "situational constraints" (Bruce, Peyton, & Batson, 1993) and the "political and structural restrictions of education (Smith, 2009)" were tied to community, district and school perspectives of the purpose of education. Nowhere was it more manifest than in how English Language Learners (ELLs) and Limited English Proficient (LEPs) students should be taught. Many community members had a longstanding view of assimilation for immigrants to the United States, a view common throughout the United States. Many Americans feel that if people come to the States to make their homes and life work, they should learn to speak English and become "American," dressing in conventional clothing, listening to American music, becoming at one with the U.S. popular culture.

Assimilation and acculturation. The United States has a long history of using education for assimilating non-Anglo people to the majority society, culture and language. World wide since the 1400s, there are well-documented cases of social, cultural and linguistic assimilation, some beginning with Catholic and Protestant missionaries created schools and settlements for indigenous people, forcing them to lose customs, beliefs, and languages to live within the empowerment. Some of the leaders of these movements were indigenous people, who after becoming "literate" in the colleges created to "civilize" them, led movements to assimilate others in their tribe. One was Samson Occum, an ordained Protestant minister in the early 1700s. Harvard and Dartmouth Colleges originally had mission assignments. The American Indian schools were vilified for punitive assimilation—including the separation of American Indian children from their mothers and families (Reyhner & Eder, 2004) .

The practice of assimilation of minority students into the majority society, culture, and language exists still today in schools and classrooms across the U.S.A. Many administrators and teachers do not question the assimilation in their teaching. Many view an ELL's heritage language as an encumbrance to their student's academic achievement and success (Montague, 2012; Paciotto & Delaney-Barmann, 2011; Valdes, 2001).

Cummins (2004) called for heritage languages, those first-languages that are not English and are spoken in the homes of the students, to be considered as resources for classroom teachers rather than impediments to students learning English and attaining overall academic achievement. He offers strategies to keep from "squandering" those students' "personal, community, and national linguistic and intellectual resources" in classrooms. He also attempts to take this issue away from the political arguments of bilingual education and immigration, which may be difficult or impossible due to the nature of language learning being so closely associated

with the immigrant populations. With the strategies he outlines, he asks us to challenge the monoliteracy instructional assumptions most educators employ in their work. He names three strategies out of many to provide the support for multiliteracy learning: (a) systematic attention to cognate relationships across languages, (b) creation of student-authored dual-language books by means of translation from the initial language of writing to the second language, and (c) sister class projects where students from different language backgrounds collaborate using two or more languages.

In two of the older-aged classrooms I observed the first and third strategy being implemented. In the younger classrooms I saw the heritage languages being kept in focus by the team teachers, one English leaning and the other Spanish leaning. The heritage languages were being taught, given respect, and shown a sense of value. At times both classes shared activities in both English and Spanish. However, I did not see projects being implemented in the younger grades such as at the older. One kindergarten veteran dual-language teacher lamented that using "constructivist" teaching did not help the students prepare for their future educational activities, mainly test taking. The other dual-language teachers seemed adamant about the "additive" value of their teaching activities and the positive "acculturation" of their students.

Acculturation is gradual acceptance of new cultures into your perspective, your sense of community, habitat, and language. As many in the field of second language acquisition assess it, there is not much acculturation and much more assimilation going on in classrooms throughout the country (Beeman & Urow, 2013; Cloud, Genesee & Hamayan, 2000; Cummins, 2005; Paciotto & Delaney-Barmann, 2011; Reyhner & Ader, 2004; Valdes, 2001). Acculturation does not attempt to rid second language students of their heritage languages and cultures, but seeks to create environments and learning activities where the heritage language is considered a valuable

asset. It is what many second language educators call "additive," meaning positively oriented and not considered a problem that has to be solved or "taken away." An additive perspective is part of the acculturation perception of language learning using a socio-cultural language theory. It is currently a popular tenet in the field of second-language learning.

Equity. Many professional educators claim that educational equity can be achieved only by following a nationally and State recognized set of standards in curriculum content (Christensen, 2008; Delpit, 2006; Newmann & Wehlage, 1995; Zimpher, 2011). The current standardized curriculum movement arose partly from the 1983 report, "A Nation at Risk," distributed by the National Commission on Excellence in Education. It claimed that said that the U.S. schools suffered from mediocrity. Aspects of restructuring the educational system were addressed. Education leaders turned to creating curricular standards in an effort to insure all students would attain minimal educational knowledge. Certain knowledge was presumed to be needed by all. Many current professional educators continue to hold this opinion. But personal success is not guaranteed by a consensus of what is valued as knowledge. Helping English language learners acquire common knowledge aims toward the assimilation of immigrant children but may add to their isolation.

Christensen (2002) states, in parallel with many ESL and bilingual educators, that as long as students are required to conform to standards set by the majority culture, as a teacher she will help her non-majority students and majority students acquire them. But she will also explain why it is necessary to acquire the standards. Assimilation is seen as necessary for minority members to attain the full range of choices. Westview Elementary School's initial dual-language program featured the acculturation perspective of second language acquisition, but as State requirements became more prevalent at the school, assimilation grew more important. And although most of

the Westview dual-language teachers continued to use a strong biliteracy and a growing multiliteracy perspective in their daily teaching, the State tests were in English. The pressures to raise ELLs to higher levels of English proficiency grew steadily and were difficult for the dual-language teachers to ignore. The leadership was pointing toward remediation and accelerated English language acquisition, and even the stellar dual-language teachers lost momentum for dual-language program objectives.

Support for Child-Centered and Teacher-Centered Instruction

In Joyce and Weil's (2000) book, the authors posit that teachers need knowledge and skill to teach in many different styles. They discuss many ways of teaching and learning for many different situations. So, even though the dual-language program advocated student-centered and developmentally appropriate curriculum and instruction, there was an expectation by dual-language teachers that they would also engage teacher-centered instruction. There would be many student-centered collaborative and small-group learning activities, but there would also be teacher-directed and skills-based instruction in small skill-leveled groups that were flexible in student grouping, changing as students needs changed (Beeman & Urow, 2013; Cloud, Genesee, Hamayan, 2000; Katz & Chard, 2000). The dual-language teachers were proficient in child-centered, developmentally appropriate, and integrated content lesson planning and implementation. The dual-language classrooms I observed hosted a variety of these teaching and learning styles. Except for the kindergarten classrooms, in dual-language classrooms, there was very little whole group instruction. There was much small-group instruction with a great deal of dialogue during instruction.

Student-centered teaching takes a great deal more time than teacher-centered instruction. A school with low AYP scores and Academic Warning Status has certain temporal obligations placed on them. Westview's daily lesson time was shortened to admit the obligated student assessments. They were to use the same curriculum the general education classroom teachers used and to give the same textbook assessments to their students. This not only limited their time for project instruction and other investigative teaching and learning, but also limited the content and the engagement of their students in lessons provided by standards-centered textbooks. The instruction aura was more assimilative in its nature, barring ELL students from using background experience and cultural knowledge and from acculturating into their new society,

Staff Development for Dual-Language Teachers

Both the project approach (Katz & Chard, 2000) and integrated-content instruction were used to engage students in dialogue and to create collaborative activities in Westview's dual-language program. Its teachers used developmental and child-centered perspectives. Initially and continually, these skills and concepts call out for refocusing and refreshing through educational inservice, ongoing coaching and mentoring. (Alanís & Rodríguez, 2008; Elias, Zins, Garczyk, & Weissberg, 2003; Johnson, Hays, Center, & Daley, 2004; Yuen, Law, & Wong, 2003). Were there funding, such as grants or appropriate budget allowances from the school district, those opportunities were expected. Both inservice education and mentoring had earlier been used to support the development of teaching skills and knowledge (Alanís & Rodríguez, 2008; Elias et al., 2003; Johnson et al., 2004). Teacher mentoring is expected for developing new teacher's identity into the school's culture and essential to staff development (Wong, 2004), but little of it was happening in contemporary Westview.

Cochran-Smith (2008) argues that in order to meet the challenges of today's classrooms, "schools need to build into the daily work opportunities for teachers to closely observe their students and investigate how to meet their needs as learners." She further states that teachers "need time to meet, raise questions, and develop local knowledge." Westview Elementary teachers had few times set aside to do professional development workshops or to work on developing their teaching during school hours. The School District was not providing the resources for professional staff development or the mentoring of teachers. If there were "communities of learning" in the school or associated with the school, they were not acknowledged by the teachers or administrators participating in my study. Communities of learning depend on administrative support. We listen again to kindergarten teacher Baldwin.

> Mrs. Baldwin: We have no support. And there's no [mentoring program], but the good news is that she (Miss Pepperidge) and I work really well together. Most weeks, it's okay, but some weeks—if you have a lot going on yourself, or are not up to par, you might have other things to deal with. You know, there's no benefit for being in a dual-language strand with a new teacher, there's not one bit.

We listen again to vice principal Huston, "There isn't a culture of the school. There won't be one until we change the climate of the school." There was no clear pathway to the improvement of Westview culture because there was almost no professional staff development, nor was there a strong leader to guide teachers and community members along the path. Westview Elementary School's dual-language teachers (and the other teachers working in the school) would probably continue to head down various paths yielding as much as they had to to the purposes identified by state policy. There seemed no reason to believe that school leaders would help the staff maintain the language instruction they had found effective in the past.

Inservice workshops provide teachers with knowledge and sometimes the practice of teaching concepts. Mentoring is used to help bring staff persons into the school's cultural group

in a more individualized way. Both are important in providing clarity of purpose and vision to in-service teachers. I witnessed a few Westview teachers asking other teachers for help or advice in curricular and instructional matters. I saw some teachers, for example, Miss Blanchard, who searched on their own for ways to work with their students. Although staff development was one of the areas the S.I.P. required, there was no apparent school or district wide plan to do regular professional staff development. Nor did I see evidence of disciplined self-study, as in reading research literature, visiting classrooms to observe other teachers using instructional styles or conceptual models (such as Reading Recovery), keeping daily reflexive accounts in journals or educational dialogue sessions between the dual-language teachers or the general education teachers.

Teacher educators agree to a great extent, that continuing education for in-service teachers is widely needed and that, in order to affect teacher development, schools and school districts need to take responsibility for this education. Staff development is a way for the school district's administrators to point their teachers and staff members in the direction they have decided to move, regarding the curriculum, instruction, assessments, community and parent involvement, learning theory, state policy interpretation, and other areas of educational concern.

Again, the only clear path for the Westview teachers to follow was the state standards. There was no one explaining how to work with diverse student populations. Individual teacher development did not appear to be of significance. There was no official teacher-mentoring program from which monoliteracry, multiliteracy, assimilative and acculturative perspectives could be discussed, and where teachers could identify themselves with or where new perspectives could emerge. There was no bolstering of better instructional, curricular, student development, and content knowledge through any common, collaborative mentoring sessions or

educational inservice in any noticeable way at Westview Elementary School. The Administration did not appear to understand needs of faculty members to have collaborative and individual develoment time during the school day.

State Requirements Influencing Curricular and Instructional Decisions

Assimilative and monoliteracy perspectives are part and parcel of the testing and accountability practices prevalent at Westview Elementary School. As elsewhere, students with English as their heritage language scored higher on the tests. ELL students did not do well on the tests and the other assessments placed upon the Westview with Academic Warning Status.

More and more assimilative and monoliteracy expectations had been placed upon Westview's dual-language teachers. It was increasingly difficult for the teachers to use the dual language additive curriculum. As class time became more fixed the curriculum became more assimilative, more State-, District-, and teacher-centered and less child-centered.

While a teacher in Florida during the 1980s through the early 2000s, I experienced the obligation to teach to State standards, while providing students with an integrated cross-content curriculum instruction, and to provide socially-culturally-linguistically responsive instruction to my students, some of whom were from heritage languages and cultures other than Anglo-American. I struggled, just as I observed the dual-language teachers at Westview Elementary struggling. Finding ways to meet the State requirements and balancing it with socially-culturally-linguistically responsive teaching is challenging. Standards are necessary in developing a meaningful and useful curriculum. Using standards as guidelines in deciding what should or should not be used in our lessons helps in building common understanding in our societies and cultures. National, State, and School District standards infused with a social justice perspective

make sense. We do need to be able to communicate with each other, but to standardize the curriculum so that everyone is doing the same lessons (whether simultaneously or eventually) is an unfortunate interpretation of the common good. It is all too likely to mistreat social, cultural, language, and other uniqueness.

Teaching to State standards and educational equity standards is a dichotomy difficult to ignore, especially when schools in all settings—urban, suburban and rural are increasingly populated by students not Anglo-American. No one has shown me a combination that makes sense.

What the State required of Westview Elementary School. Earlier I mentioned that the only teachers I saw receiving formal staff development "training" or professional education sessions were teachers sitting on the School Improvement Plan (SIP) committee. This was accomplished by bringing a consultant from the State Superintendent's Office to the committee in Mr. Huston's office. The consultant was there to help the committee work on their SIP plan to meet requirements outlined by auditors after the school failed to meet Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP). This was the school's fourth year of not achieving AYP. When a school met this requirement they were classified as "Fully Recognized" by the State. The yearly progress on State test scores was seen as in compliance with No Child Left Behind (NCLB) rules. If a school did not meet AYP requirements for 2 years in a row, it was classified as having "Academic Early Warning Status (AEWS)." It meant that they were eligible for State sanctions. If it failed to demonstrate AYP for 4 years in a row, it was classified as having "Academic Watch Status (AWS)." For the academic year 2012-2013, the Federal Department of Education had placed the Westview School in restructuring status and the State placed them in AWS.

This status is defined by State tests given to students in 3rd grade through 12th grade. There are sections for reading and language arts, mathematics, and science. The language and mathematics sections are given once a year in Grades 3-8 and once in the Grades 10-12 span. Science is given once in the Grades 3-5 span, once in the Grades 6-9 span, and once in the Grades 10-12 span. Mean scores on these annual tests determine if a school is failing or not. According to the State and Federal Governments, Westview Elementary School is a failing school.

According to the developers, the test items are based on the State's education standards. Many administrators ask their teachers to refer to specific standards in their lesson plans. This is the reason the SIP committee was being trained, so that they could formulate a SIP that would align teaching to those standards and to the requirements set forth in NCLB policy.

Westview School Improvement Plan had 48 pages. It was organized around what the State called, "Educator Qualities," with indicators in Teaching and Learning, Leadership, Professional Development, Parent Involvement, etc. Not all teachers had copies of the SIP, but at sometime during the year they were to examine the plan.

The State did not tell School Districts that its test battery was the only standardized assessment that should be used to assess student academic progress. Westview uses several other standardized tests such as AIMSweb and assessments that are part of the reading and mathematics textbook series. Westview teachers said they spend a great amount of time preparing for tests, especially the annual State examination. There are high stakes, including Academic Warning Status. Reputation, constraint, and stress are also price. The popular view is that the school is in restructuring status because the students did not score highly enough.

Important consequences ride on the State-mandated tests. Mrs. Martinez explained it to me in an e-mail. Students were increasingly stressed by tests given in periods that lasted for entire days. Some tests were given every day—practice tests, content area tests, vocabulary tests, writing tests, mathematics tests. These assessments take extended deal of time to administer and facilitate. This is not what most teachers at Westview Elementary School once imagined they would be including in their daily teaching plans.

Schools have had a history of accountability. They have kept their promises to communities, employers, governments, families, and children. They have responded to aspirations and State Codes. They have failed to be fully accountable in accessibility and equity. The forms of accountability have changed over the years. Teachers promise to be moral in their work with young people. They promise to do as well as they can to help their students learn skills and knowledge that will help them become upright members of society. Teachers help parents make sure their children are healthy, in attendance, properly clothed and in good behavior. Principals promise to make sure that teachers are doing their job, keep the school building safe and in good repair and make sure that they are complying with State and Federal laws. Accountability has been a matter of living by the rules.

The definition has changed. Accountability in today's schools is defined as academic performance, particularly as measured on standardized tests. The tests measure only part of what teachers teach, but are used to represent all a teacher is accountable for. Quality of schooling has been simplified by state standards and tests. When I observed in the classrooms and hallways of Westview, I saw many activities and events that could have said to the Nation and the State, "We are learning a great deal here." Many of these things are not easily measurable and comparable across schools, but standardized tests are the affordable substitute. The State has found Westview

Elementary School not accountable by concentrated assessment, and thus less accountable to what the community wants and needs.

More teacher-directed, less student-centered. This focus on assessments gave Westview Elementary School educators little time to use the more student-directed investigative and project-based approaches to learning and teaching. These approaches had been implemented as part of the dual-language program. The Administration was asked to use more dialogue-centered instruction and to "scaffold" the learning process for under-skilled students. These things take time each school day. But with the State's emphasis on accountability, the teachers were told to hold to the "scope and sequence" in the textbook curriculum and a unified progression with other teachers at their grade levels.

The directives Westview teachers were given focused on preparing for the State tests and included daily, weekly and monthly assessments ostensibly monitoring every student's progress. These directives narrowly restricted what the teachers could use in teaching and how the curriculum would be handled. In fact, the teachers were told to use the textbook reading series as it was written, with all of the content and reading assessments as presented in the teacher guides purchased.

Textbook assessments were among the testing instruments the teachers at Westview Elementary School had to accommodate. The District also required them to give the AIMSweb assessments throughout the month. There the teacher does a one-on-one reading task and enters the data for each student on the AIMSweb site. As Mrs. Martinez said to me, "It's more and more about the test."

Progressive Focusing of the Westview's Dual-Language Program

Even the most carefully designed qualitative research projects need tweaking as a study progresses. A researcher must be somewhat flexible.

PDS relationships. Although the two professors still maintained contact with the dual-language teachers and the current Director of Language Acquisition, teaching courses were no longer held at the school site. The two taught at an area college where some of the District's dual-language teachers enrolled, at least briefly, but the on-site teaching and "coaching" they once had at Westview Elementary no longer existed. The relationship between the professors and the school was greatly diminished from what it had been during the FLAP grant years. Because the two professors were no longer at the research site on a regular basis, and no longer working in a partnership with the school, I needed to change my study. I interviewed the two, and included their views of the dual-language program as they evolved from their own professional development to the time when the school's FLAP grant and Title 3 grant ended.

Teachers who initiated change no longer at the school. I also discovered that many of the 20 or so teachers who had been instrumental in instigating and implementing a dual-language program were no longer teaching at Westview Elementary. Some had moved to other districts and some had retired from teaching. I made a formal request for participation. The few still at the school told me they would not take part in my study, neither for interview nor classroom observation. Two explained that they were working with difficult classes and their energies were spent just keeping control of the students, that having anyone else in the classroom would be too much distraction. One long-time dual-language teacher declined saying she was mentoring a new teacher and "couldn't add another thing to her plate." This teacher did help out in the final two weeks I was at the site, but I had time with her only for one classroom observation and one

interview session. Still, she added valuable data to my study. So, the teachers to whom I had access were reflected in the changes I made to this part of my study design.

Two kindergarten teachers participated who were one of the dual-language teams at Westview. Their team fit my plan of having two teachers on a collaborative team as study participants. However, the only other teacher who had volunteered to participate in the study was a first-year, special education teacher at the school. I hadn't included special education teachers specifically, so this was another slight change. I felt she would help me see how special education students who were also ELLs were involved in school activities.

I was able to enlist one fifth grade, general education teacher's participation the first few days I began my study. He had several African immigrant students enrolled in his class. I was not able to entice other general education classroom teachers into the study. So, I had one less general education teacher than I had planned.

I had also planned to have two bilingual, or "stand-alone," classroom teachers in the study but could only get one to participate. She did so "with all her heart," but this was a change from my design calling for two.

The school principal and other administrators. Another change after the proposal was that, other than a few short e-mail messages and permission to allow my study to be implemented, the principal did not participate. I sent several e-mail messages and asked the principal in person for interviews. She made no response. She did respond to my expression of appreciation of the teachers who were helpful and friendly to me during my time in the school. She was friendly but made it clear she would not be involved in the study. I suspected she had a personal reason, and that was good enough.

The Language Acquisition Director, being also the Assistant Principal, participated fully in the study. The case might have been stronger if the principal had participated in interviews and discussions, but Mr. Huston was able to provide me with answers to questions and to materials such as the S.I.P. (Strategic Improvement Plan for schools not meeting AYP requirements on the state tests). He pointed me to events, places, people and such that would help give me a better idea of what was going on at the School and the Perkins School District.

I met with the superintendent one time. He seemed happy that I was doing a study of Westview Elementary School. He told me I needed to speak to Mr. Huston, the Director of Language Acquisition for the district. He told me that the director would help me with everything I needed to know.

The Director of Curriculum and Instruction, Mr. Sellers, was able to help me with all I needed to know about curricular and instructional decisions being made in the district. So, I added him. Mr. Sellers also helped me understand district policies and activities.

I added the former principal who was part of the initial program spearhead group. She was able to give me pertinent historical facts about the dual-language program development. In addition I added the former director, Susan Black, for similar reasons. She was able to provide information of what the dual-language program originally incorporated in terms of staff development and mentoring situations (coaching).

Fieldstone Elementary School teachers. My original proposal included asking two to four teachers from the district's other elementary school to participate in interviews. I did speak with several of the teachers at Fieldstone Elementary School; they showed no interest in participating in my study. I did go to an after-school parent-involvement activity that was held at

their school site. The teachers were friendly and welcoming, but they seemed extremely busy and declined participation. This was another part of the plan that was refocused.

There were only a few parents involved in the daily activities of the school. While I had permission slips signed by the parents to allow me to observe their children's classroom activities, only a few agreed to an interview. Only two parents volunteered.

Making Sense of Westview Elementary School

In education, there are many ways of teaching students, many ways of organizing the instruction and curriculum, and many ways of understanding the purposes of education. When a group of educators are placed together in a school setting, there are going to be similarities and differences among them. Social, cultural, economic, linguistic, religious, and other backgrounds are going to be different. Sometimes finding ways to connect the different members in the school to each other are difficult because of the backgrounds. Sometimes connections are easier, such as when there is common cause.

There were two large social philosophy continuums I saw operating with teachers and the staff at Westview Elementary School, inside and surrounding the dual-language program: (a) Assimilation and acculturation, and (b) Monoliteracy and biliteracy (multiliteracy). Standardization of the curriculum (and to some degree the instruction) might be placed somewhere near one end of the assimilation end of the assimilation-acculturation continuum. Teaching in ways that were socially-culturally-linguistically responsive to students would be placed near the acculturation end of that continuum. Some administrators and teachers felt that both needed to be done. There were those who were frustrated at having to fit being socially-culturally-linguistically responsive into the standardization agenda, particularly those not having

much success. There was little agreement among the teachers and staff members at Westview Elementary School as to which ends of the continuum were they most often found.

The Westview Elementary School dual-language program seemed to be caught in the cross-fire. With no strong leadership, staff development and official mentoring program, teachers lacked a certain communication. The support structure of the dual-language program lacked the strength the study participants said it once included. The focus turned from the program features toward State requirements through restructuring efforts and an S.I.P. The path to school effectiveness was posed as simple, but traditional and specialized teaching required a more complex statement of mission.

The majority of the students came to school with social, cultural, and linguistic heritages other than those traditionally found in Perkins. English was not their first language. Yet there were not enough teachers with ESL and or Bilingual endorsement and teaching experience to understand and differentiate instruction so that the ELL students and the other students would be able to build their skills and knowledge levels and be viewed as successful. The educational perspectives at Westview Elementary School were especially scattered, although many of the dual-language teachers still subscribed to acculturation and biliteracy or multiliteracy (and multicultural) agendas. The driving force of the State requirements (yearly test and the S.I.P. accountability aspects) seemed to move the teachers to consider the assimilative more essential. There was little being done to support the dual-language teachers or the other Westview teachers in using student-centered and developmentally appropriate teaching and learning, which was a major feature of the initial dual-language program. There was little staff development at the school. The leadership was not giving much direction, putting more emphasis on making sure standards were included in lesson plans and asking teachers to use only the district adopted

curriculum (textbooks and their associated materials). There wasn't a great deal of attention given to novice and new teachers, who were often left to develop skills and knowledge on their own. The school was being required to administer formal and summative assessments each week to students not scoring high enough on the State tests. Quite a few impediments had arisen for Westview Elementary School's dual-language program to overcome if it was to survive. The dual-language teachers were the life force of the program. They continued to use the philosophies they had been educated to use. They continued to use dialogic, investigative, student-centered and developmentally appropriate lessons with their students. They continued to look at their classrooms as additive environments for dual-language and multicultural learning. The dual-language teachers were strongly committed to the dual-language program. But, is this enough for a program to survive?

In my next chapter, I will offer conclusions to this study and will answer this and the research question, and will show the complex contextual nature of Westview Elementary School's dual-language program.

Chapter 7

On-going Enervation of the Westview Dual-Language Program

The influx of immigrants into the United States has caused changes in the demographics of our nation's schools (Fix & Passel, 2003). The number of children who speak a language other than English in their homes increased dramatically from 1980 to 2000 (Van Hook & Fix, 2000). Although immigration to larger U.S. cities is well documented and more common, new diaspora sites are impacting remote school districts (Fix & Passel, 2000; Paciotto & Delany-Barmann, 2011). Neither veteran teachers nor newcomers are well prepared to handle the increasing socio-cultural-linguistic diversity found in many classrooms (Cochran-Smith, 2000; Darling-Hammond, 2006; Goodwin, 2002; Neito, 2000; Sleeter, 2008). The teachers in remote rural schools are especially unprepared for sudden social-cultural-linguistic changes in student populations. They lack the educational experience to understand the cultural backgrounds and to teach first- and second- generation immigrant students and families (Campano, 2007; Darling-Hammond, 2006; Goodwin, 2010; Howard & Aleman, 2008).

In this dissertation study I looked at a teacher-initiated dual-language program in an elementary school setting in the rural Midwest where teachers had been struggling with sudden socio-cultural-linguistic diversity. The program emerged after several teachers and an administrator became active, proposing solutions that would help their newer immigrant students acculturate to their new home and school environment. They looked for ways that would strengthen the community and ensure the safety of their newcomer students. They wanted to provide immigrant and long-time resident students with second-language learning. Hearing the claims of biliteracy and multiliteracy practitioners, they too said it would give their graduates

access to future job markets (Beeman & Urow, 2013; Cochran-Smith, 2001; Cummins, 2005; Freeman, 1996).

Here are four themes I identified as I tracked the Westview dual language program as it closed its initial decade: (a) social philosophy; those perspectives dealing with various educational agendas and traditions, language learning philosophies addressing assimilation and acculturation, and the aspiration for monoliteracy, biliteracy and multi-literacy; (b) respect for children through student centering, contrasting that with traditional teacher-centered teaching; (c) support for teaching, with staff development and mentoring; and (d) state requirements such as curriculum standards and high stakes testing. In addition, I looked for such conditions and issues as the demographics of the community and administrative- and teacher-decision-making. I especially noted how African immigrant students were excluded from the school D-L program. Furthermore, teacher attrition of the dual-language program and school needed my attention. In this final chapter, I offer a comprehensive interpretation of the weakening of the Westview Elementary School's dual-language program; that is, I am answering the main research question, "What happened to the teacher-initiated, college–supported dual-language program in this culturally diverse rural community?"

Personal interest in this study. When I first heard about teachers at Westview Elementary School who had taken it on themselves to initiate a dual-language program to replace the State-required Transitional Bilingual Program, I was intrigued. Having been a teacher in the public schools for 20 years, I was interested in whatever way the teachers came together in support of what they saw needing to be changed to better meet serve their rapidly diversifying student population. How important were outside help and community pride (hooks, 2003; Noonan, 2005; Rogers et al, 2005; Ray, 2009; Shernoff et al, 2011)? I believed I would find

some form of teacher activism. I had been told that the new dual-language program was warmly supported by the school and district, partly because of the two professors from a nearby college working in partnership with the teacher. They recognized needs to develop the special teacher knowledge and skills for dual-language teaching and learning. Another intriguing aspect of the proposed dual-language program was the social justice and/or educational equity stance. The program initiators spoke of creating democratic and safe school and community environments for their students, and as with many leading educators throughout history (Darling-Hammond, 2006; Dewey, 1903; Frieire, 1990; hooks, 2003), they saw a way to accomplish these through their language curriculum.

Locally, the new dual-language program at Westview Elementary School was called "innovative." As mentioned in Chapters 2 and 6 (Bruce, 1993; Epstein & Yuthas, 2012; Hrabowski, 2011; Smith, 2009), understanding the meaning of "innovative" is important for understanding the early perspectives of the Perkins School District, its administrators, teachers, parents, students and other community members. The word, "innovative" can be defined either as "to invent or to begin to apply," methods or ideas used elsewhere. In the case of Westview's dual-language program, the perspectives, the curricular and instructional ideas and concepts were easy to find in writings described in Chapter 2. However, in the Perkins community, the two-way dual-language immersion program was seen as new, progressive, and different from what had been used in the community's past. That does not reduce credit to the innovators taking the initiative. It was locally new, and a bit breathtaking. It is important to recognize local newness explaining the findings and the conclusions of this case study.

Social philosophy. According to my long observations, the dual-language program was still in existence, but it was a program operating nominally more than vigorously, certainly

without the pride, energy and funding it once had. It was not marked by common purpose. There was division among the educators at Westview Elementary School as to aims and practices of teaching English language learners (ELLs). Language learning philosophy was rarely voiced, but there were different views. Of course, such differences were found in other curricular pursuits at Westview and would be in other communities far and wide. These differences have traditionally been seen in the vigor of hiring and keeping strong teachers, but with new emphases on standardization of the curriculum, diversity comes to look more like weakness.

At Westview, I recognized a continuum of differences regarding "social philosophy." The educators at Westview had perspectives stemming from several educational traditions and agendas, but clearly there were two distinct leanings. I called them "assimilation" and "acculturation." They directly influenced the teachers' curricular strategies and daily instructional decisions, even at times when the educators were not aware of it.

Their individual preferences for literacy, monoliteracy, and biliteracy or multiliteracy played a part in these daily decisions. I used a second continuum to describe the language orientation of the people at Westview Elementary School and, not surprisingly, I found most of them fell somewhere away from the two continuum extremes. That is, there were few expressions in this school of favor for simple literacy or grand multiliteracy, but in two clusters somewhere between.

For different reasons, some of Westview's educators indicated that their purpose was to teach their ELLs how to speak, read, write and listen using only English (monoliteracy). They preferred to work towards assimilation of the immigrant students into the long-standing culture of the community. They spoke little of importance for learning other languages, confident that

English was the language their students needed now and for years to come. English should be moved ahead quickly to facilitate the students in their other academic endeavors.

Further along my continuum were Westview educators who worked to prepare their students for the future, for a global job market and a changing American society. They took as their pedagogical job the creation of assignments and activities, for their ELL and English-as-first-language students, leading to the acquisition of a second language. All should have the opportunity to become biliterate (or multiliterate depending on how many heritage languages a student already had or wanted).

For the most part, the teachers nearer that end of the continuum wanted their immigrant students to acculturate rather than to assimilate. They were dismayed by the prospect that their immigrant children might remain subordinated to the majority culture, as are many poor Black and Hispanic children across the country. The alternate idea of acculturation is enlistment in the preservation of cultures, with abiding efforts at mutual respect for each student's social, cultural, linguistic, religious grouping. It encourages students to keep and cultivate their heritage language. Most of the Westview dual-language teachers claimed that they were helping to create peaceful and respectful ways for their ELLs and their native English-speaking students to interact within the classroom, the school and the community. By viewing the assimilation-acculturation concept and the literacy-multiliteracy concept as continua, it helped keep me from viewing these themes simplistically as dichotomies. With deeper study I might find that the continua are much more complex than linear, but going this far allows a more comprehensive view of social philosophy.

Respect for children. The second case study theme, "Respect for children," is operationalized by "child-centered teaching." I found that several dual-language teachers

regularly focused on “developmentally appropriate” teaching and learning, even as the official curriculum specified a standardized target elsewhere. But others did so less often. All the dual-language teachers belonged to grade level teams with general education classroom teachers, most of whom did not use child-centered teaching in a prominent way. Few of these teachers had had much inservice education or acquaintance using these styles of teaching. Not surprisingly, the general education teachers appeared to value child centering lower than did the dual-language teachers. The latter had had more extensive inservice education and experience using these methods.

At some grade level teacher meetings, curriculum and assessment were discussed and particular curriculum, instruction, or assessing choices were voted on. It was not uncommon that the preferences of the dual-language teachers were excluded or dismissed. Some dual-language teachers had eventually dropped parts of their views and aspirations for “developmentally appropriate” teaching and learning, apparently influenced by the need to raise the school’s State test scores. All the teachers had heard State consultants and textbook representatives touting “scientifically-based research” (SBR); downplaying qualitative and professional research efforts; dismissing almost a century of research on developmentalism, constructivism, and socio-cultural language learning. Some of the loss of enthusiasm for child-centered teaching had to be attributed to the unfamiliarity of teaching colleagues and the unsupportive posture of State consultants.

All the Westview teachers had respect for children in personal and social ways, but not so much for what individual children had experienced and accomplished. With child centering, effort was made to honor children as they were more than as to where they ought to be. The standardized curriculum and teacher-centered pedagogy took a “deficit view” of children,

thinking of what needs to be done to bring them up to the norm. With this concentration on shortcomings, it is hard for there to be full respect for individual children.

Support for teaching. Although there are many ways for people and school systems to support teachers, my attention was drawn to staff development and mentoring. I found wide differences between what had existed in the initial dual-language program and what was presently occurring at Westview. The two professors involved in the dual-language program's initial staff development efforts were still nominally involved in staff development with teachers from the school, but it was what might be expected from any college near the school. There was no longer a coaching situation at the school site. Although a few teachers attended classes for certification purposes (satisfying State requirements), a commitment to continuing professional education was uncommon among the teachers.

There had been extensive in-service education at Westview during the years of the Foreign Language Acquisition Project (FLAP) grant starting the D-L program. All of the dual-language teachers attended these workshops. All Westview teachers had been invited to participate and some of the general education classroom teachers attended, as did some of the "specials" teachers (art, music, physical education, remediation). During the months I visited the school, I found only one in-service meeting taking place. It was for the School Improvement Plan (S.I.P.) committee where a State consultant gave the members of the committee instruction on the specific writing process involved with creating and implementing a School Improvement Plan. The Westview teachers and administrators I spoke with assured me that there had been no other school-wide in-service education/staff development for several years. This seemed strange for a school receiving from the State an official "Warning" for low student learning performance.

I found no formal teacher-mentoring program at Westview Elementary School. Newly hired and novice teachers had been given classrooms near veteran teachers' classrooms or were placed in co-teaching positions with veteran teachers with the hope that the proximity would help induct the newcomers into school and district culture. During the first years of the dual-language program, there also had not been an official mentoring program. An older district teacher handbook showed evidence that one was being discussed and developed by a former district superintendent, but I found no other trace of school-wide mentoring.

There had been something of a coaching atmosphere in the dual-language program during the years of the FLAP grant when the program had its dedicated program director, Susan Black. She "mentored" new dual-language teachers as well as "coached" veteran dual-language teachers to improve knowledge and skills associated with the dual-language program.

As dual-language program director, Black was to work primarily on the matters of the program. Currently, there was no director just for the program. The present director of language acquisition held two positions at the school—that also of assistant principal. His position as assistant principal took much of his time. He had invested a great deal of energy in the dual-language program over the years and was still well involved with it, but the engagement was no longer as it had been during the initial years, and indicated the drop in priority of the program in the Perkins School District.

State requirements. As to my findings regarding the fourth case study theme, "State requirements," the dual-language program was subject to the same stipulations (policy-driven curriculum, instruction, assessment, data collecting and accountability) that the general education classrooms were subject to. This lack of differentiation was attributable to Westview Elementary

School not meeting its Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) goal in 4 years and being placed by the State in Academic Warning Status.

The dual-language teachers, as well as other teachers at Westview, were required to teach from State-approved textbooks and were told that curriculum and instruction needed to be founded in "scientifically-based research." The materials thus needed to have been evaluated in formal experiments with randomly selected control groups. This limited developers and suppliers to large corporations. It limited use of the teachers' own materials, however long used, reducing teacher control of classroom learning and violating the tradition of classroom teaching in America.

Teachers were asked to refer to core curriculum (state) standards in their lesson plans. This was not something entirely new to Westview teachers. They had been aware of No Child Left Behind policies for some while. However, when a school does not meet the AYP for two years, facing sanctions, is placed in Early Academic Warning Status (EAWS), then the State threatens certain punishments and State auditors come to see if things are being done right. The school was now in its fourth year of low test performance and was placed in AWS by the State. More sanctions from the State were expected and more attention from the auditors. The "standardization agenda" instituted by the district curriculum coordinator and followed closely by some teachers called for the same lessons being taught in the same grade level on the same day in every classroom.

Individualized teaching had not disappeared. There was still a push for scaffolding and for remediation for individual students not gaining the skills and knowledge needed for meeting the standards at grade level expectation. That had been organized into tiers. At the first tier, the lesson was to be taught by the classroom teacher to the whole class, at the second were

interventions or remediation work carried out by the homeroom teacher or someone else, and at the third tier, interventions and remediation by someone other than the homeroom teacher. This provided more individualized teaching but increased the teacher's load and required more remedial specialists, an expense difficult for the school.

These tiers were called for in the State program, Response to Intervention (RTI), as an attempt to ensure that no student would fall behind, of course an impossibility. One of the things Westview put into action was a time slot where each grade level did RTI for their students. They divided students up according to remedial needs of individual students and sent them all to one of the teachers' room for this session. Mrs. Martinez helped ELL students with English acquisition on one day and on an alternating day helped them with mathematics. At those times, Mr. Patton taught the students at higher academic knowledge and skill levels. Each person at their grade level had one of the groups to work with at RTI time. It was the same at all grade levels.

There were several student assessments the teachers were newly required to implement, some of which overlapped. The dual-language teachers, who used more transdisciplinary, investigative, and child-centered instructional styles that take more instructional time than most teacher-directed instruction, found it increasingly difficult to complete the assessments during the school day. Some assessments were web-based, with the data kept in web-files and the assessment instruments hand-given to individual students. Some of the assessments came from the district-adopted textbook series. These tests had multiple choice items, often five or six questions. The test results were given considerable weight in the accountability plan. (If there are five questions and a student misses one question, she would receive a B, or 80%. If she missed two questions she would receive 60%, a D. Such short tests are not a psychometrically sound

way of discerning whether the student is attaining content or skills from particular lessons, and taken over time, result more in "aptitude" testing than "achievement.") The dual-language teachers had long concluded that these textbook assessments were not useful to them, not providing diagnostic data for instruction. However, they were required to give them as part of their data collection on student achievement.

The teachers were currently being required to learn how to use "running records," a form of miscue analysis in reading. This process, especially when first administering it, takes a good deal of time and effort. It is an assessment process that produces detailed data, such as is valuable in "Reading Recovery," but one that if the administrator does not understand the principles, can be useless or hurtful. It was created to "level" readers into flexible reading groups as well as diagnostically to see where individual students needed remediation or support in their reading skill acquisition. It was originally created as an integral part of guided reading programs. Some of the teachers complained that they were not comfortable using this assessment method; they didn't understand it. They were not persuaded it was "scientifically based."

Westview's S.I.P. committee members were well informed as to the issues their school needed to be working on as far as the State was concerned. However many of the teachers not on the committee were not well informed as to why the accountability system was changed to include more classroom data collection. Assessments were collected sometimes once a week from some of the lower-scoring students. Some teachers said it seemed their teaching was less about instruction and more about giving tests.

The State required those teachers with "emergency" or Type 29 teaching certification to obtain either in-service or college credits leading to education knowledge and skills or practice.

Several of the dual-language teachers had Type 29 certification. Some had accomplished the required course work towards certification; others were still completing these required classes.

Some teachers who had attended traditional educational programs viewed alternative certification teachers as weakening the dual-language program. There were teachers who spoke ill of these emergency-certified teachers, saying that they lacked full preparation and could not do well the tasks required of teachers. This runs contrary to the main research on State alternative certification programs. If there is careful and deliberate choice in who is admitted to these programs, and if there is placement into a school with trained coaches and mentors, adequate materials, and frequent feedback for alternative teacher certification candidates, the alternatively certified teachers do just as well in supporting student achievement as the traditionally certified teachers (Humphrey, Wechsler, & Hough, 2008; Zeichner & Conklin, 2008).

As Assistant Principal Huston told me, it is very difficult to find regularly certified bilingual or ESL teachers for rural schools. Attrition is higher in rural districts. He said, “There is very little for people to do here, besides work. Recruiting new teachers to our district is almost impossible. If we do manage to hire someone qualified for teaching ELLs, they don’t stay here long—they get their experience and go to a city to work.”

Other issues. The issues beyond the main three in this study included changing demographics of the community, instructional decision-making done by administrators more than by teachers, the African immigrant students not being included in the dual-language program, and teacher attrition.

Although support for the dual-language program had dwindled, it is important to note that there was never full support for the program from the community. Currently, a little over half of

Westview's students were enrolled in the dual-language program. To be enrolled they needed parental permission. Many of Westview's parents were supportive in that they enrolled their children in the program. But that only means they saw it better or no different than the alternative.

Community demographics. The community's demographics had continuously changed over two decades, with its population becoming less White, middle class, and English-speaking. The population became more racially, ethnically and socio-economically diverse. As Mr. Sellers explained, "This was the first year that this school district had more Hispanic students enrolled than White students." The Hispanic student enrollment had reached 60%. There were now several first, second and third generational socio-cultural-linguistic groups of recent African immigrants residing within Perkins' town limits. Some of the original tension among community members remained. Some families that had resided in Perkins before the non-English speaking immigrants arrived still regretted the change. Some said the immigrant residents needed to leave their languages, their cultures, and their beliefs behind them and adapt to their new environment. They should show evidence of having a monoliteracy and an assimilation perspective. Some in the community saw the changes as inevitable, a "sign of the times," a side effect of globalization. Some welcomed the new businesses to their community and saw the benefits of diversifying their culture and languages, seeing this change as beneficial to the town's commerce and their children's future in the job market. These views were only indirectly tied to perceptions of the B-L program.

African immigrant students not included in the dual-language program. I found a few African immigrant students attending Westview Elementary School. They had been enrolled in the general education classrooms of the school, where only two teachers had ESL endorsement.

Most of the African immigrant students enrolled at Westview spoke French as their common language and additionally, African tribal languages. Most of them were considered English Language Learners (ELLs). In some states, when teachers are to have an ELL student in class for a year, they are required to obtain an ESL endorsement. This was not the case at Westview. The general education teachers had not saught ESL or bilingual endorsement. The African immigrant students were assigned to a "pull-out" ESL program. There, language lessons and other subjects were taught in a room away from their homeroom by an ESL resource teacher. And so, these students were experiencing some of the isolation the first Spanish-as-first-language students experienced before the dual-language program was implemented. Some of the African immigrant students did not participate in many of the classroom lessons while in the classroom, but sat in their desks working by themselves. They found ways to entertain themselves (such as drawing or playing games), sometimes becoming disruptive in off-task behavior and napping at their seats. I noticed very little engagement with classroom learning activities or with their classmates except at recess, in the hallways, at physical education classes, and at lunch.

Westview Elementary School's Waning Dual-Language Program

The Westview Dual-Language Program continued to be referred to as a program but no longer had the leadership nor the cross-classroom interactivity to justify the term. It had started as a program, coherent and appropriately governed, created to address a major community need, and moving in curricular directions unfamiliar in the district. It was driven partly by the caring of teachers and outside consultants to serve immigrant children who were only marginally recognized by the State Department of Public Instruction. It was not a program in which the

community was engaged, but it had few, if any, opponents. A few leaders and a few cooperating teachers could and did create a program in a 30-some teacher school.

As the decade moved along, the need for the program continued, and need rose for addressing the expanding diversity of immigrant families. The mainstay teachers remained committed. The leadership, both internal and external, with high turnover, was drawn away to other problems and opportunities. As far as education was concerned, the immigrant families seemed not to coalesce into a community of their own, nor to press for better services for their children, nor to bring energy into the D-L program. It seemed as if the leadership of school, neighborhood, and community were satisfied with the teaching of languages by having a teacher talking or guiding the talk in each classroom each day. Teachers make good classrooms, but it takes more than individual teachers making good classrooms to make a language program. The program needs to be thought of as a whole—nourished, trimmed, redirected. It needs to be led. It can be over-led or led badly, but without leadership it can expect to wither and die.

The Westview D-L program was weak, possibly near disappearance. With little fanfare or protest, the program could at any time, formally or informally, be subsumed by mainstream instruction, standardized by common core standards and state-mandated testing. Something short of 20 teachers were associated with the program. A few of them collaborated in grade level teaching. There were no program meetings or communication across the program. A similar number of general education teachers taught at the school. They, too, had no programmatic identity. For the work of the school, all stayed focused on their classrooms. The teaching was not at risk. I observed students in the dual-language program dialoguing with each other across social, cultural and language boundaries. They played. They hung out. Mostly in English, they

engaged in problem-solving activities and projects in collegial and collaborative ways. This happened during formal lessons and it happened during non-instructional times.

Even when funding for in-service education and other needs decreased, student enrollment continued to grow. In face of the restrictions on curriculum and instruction placed upon the dual-language teachers by NCLB and State policies concerning the AYP scores, the dual-language teachers continued to include collaborative, dialogic and child-centered instructional styles. Westview's dual-language program remained in the directory. I found evidence that the teachers' social philosophy, their understanding of their purpose as teachers, helped keep Westview's dual-language program going. Marginalization of minority groups can be alleviated, the research literature assures us, using features that the teachers in Westview's dual-language program used.

In Chapter 2, I described curriculum and instructional styles that utilize discussion, conversation, and dialogue accomplishes the meaningful use of and the growth and development of student language learning (Alanís & Rodríguez, 2008; Beeman & Urow, 2013; Cloud, et al, 2000). Instructional styles that include meaningful dialogue and that develop critical analysis skills in the students are those found in the project approach (Katz & Chard, 2000), investigative curriculum and instruction, and other learning activities that ask for students to confer and do problem-solving activities with each other (Chin & Chia, 2004; Kuhn, Black, Keselman & Kaplan, 2000).

Westview's first dual-language teachers had developed child-centered, investigative, and collaborative instructional teaching during the early years of the dual-language program. These instructional methods continue to be apparent in their lesson plans and delivery. In Westview Elementary School's dual-language classrooms there still were efforts at acculturation and

biliteracy/multiliteracy. Students were not only studying two languages and improving on their ways of communicating, they were forming relationships with each other. The teachers, who had been involved in the program during the FLAP grant years, continued to use the types of curriculum and instruction for dual-language learning situations. The new teachers were given help, but not much. Even though the dual-language teachers had neither in-service education nor an official mentoring program, inquiry-based, investigative, "developmentally appropriate" and child-centered instructional styles continued to exist in the program. The teachers had not abandoned the Dual Language program.

State requirements began to dominate teacher and administrative communications more than 25 years ago. National and state officials perceived the teaching corps as putting the nation at risk, with too many incompetent and off track teachers. Leaders with political credentials more than education credentials perceived that instruction in the classroom should be standardized and that schools and teachers would by punished for poor student performance. Without an appropriate research base, teachers were restricted in what and how they taught. It was thought these restrictions would be remedial for poor teachers and of little burden to good teachers. Both thoughts were wrong.

When the students and teachers at Westview School did not meet AYP requirements for a second year in a row, the pressures to conform to lesson structure and assessment lessened the time that teachers could devote to language facilitation and acculturation. The State tests were homogeneous across the country, correlated with but substantively different from tests that would have been precisely developed for good performance in dual language learning. Content and skill were different, and different, too, was the familiarity with the operational language of

the tests, English. The State was not supportive of the progress of language teaching for a diverse citizenry.

Westview Elementary School's dual-language program was losing ground in the district and school. As Mrs. Martinez said, "We are losing pieces of our program bit by bit. A little here and a little there—it's difficult." Mrs. Baldwin echoed her words, "Our program is not as strong as it was in the beginning. We don't have the same support we used to have."

The most important factor in the enervating weakness of the dual-language program in the Perkins elementary schools perhaps was the failure of local leadership. Had school officials and the community maintained the idea that the children needed the program as a program, they could have kept it strong, even in face of attrition of teachers and insensitivities and distractions of the State Board. Mostly they just needed to keep saying that their program was best for their particular situation. Instead, they let the teaching of languages take an ordinary place alongside the teaching of mathematics and English. Thus it became a classroom matter rather than remaining a vital school-wide program.

Implications and Recommendations

What a reader of this study might conclude is that at least in this one school, the State's effort to improve the work of teachers had overstepped its role in society. Its standards-based conceptual structure had been the remedial policy for more than three decades. Teachers and districts need conceptual structure for conducting and improving their offerings. The structure they have had is informal, but well grounded in tradition, teacher experience, parent expectation, teacher collective action, teacher pre-service certification, and continuing professional education. Their structure is not derived from testing of student achievement and has been helped little by it.

Federal and state policies have been examined by scientifically based research and by intensive professional scrutiny, and have been found to be unsound and hurtful. Policy makers make mistakes, just as teachers and students do. It is apparent in the findings of this case study that a well thought out dual language program did not remain resilient when State, district and community leaders did not protect it.

Teachers reflect upon their purposes as teachers and the methods they have learned. Their reflections have direct impact on the ways they teach. The dual-language teachers at Westview Elementary School were placed in increasingly difficult teaching situations. They were given many more tasks (additional testing and programs like Response to Intervention) to accomplish beyond their special methods of dual-language instruction. But mainly, they were not embraced in their continuing efforts to provide language development in a community with special language needs.

This is a critical situation for teachers today, probably across America and around the world. The situation needs professional study by educators and civic leaders, perhaps social scientists too. I have concluded that comparative studies are needed, looking at teacher perspectives (philosophies), curricular and instructional choices and implementation, and the role of assessment and remediation now required in contemporary legislation. Part of the way to accomplish this is through action research, teacher based and school based. Extensive measurement is not critical here as much as ethnographic study of communities and classrooms. Special attention needs be made as to how in-service assistance is offered. Special attention needs to be given to the teaching of language in diverse communities. Standardized achievement tests cannot be ignored, but the criterion of instructional success will be whether or not we are teaching the best ways we know how to teach. The resources are available, particularly the

matter of critical insight, that can help us avoid the plight of the Westview dual-language program.

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